

TRAVELS

OF THE

J E S U I T S,

INTO

Various PARTS of the WORLD:

Compiled from their LETTERS.

Now first attempted in *ENGLISH*.

Intermix'd with an

ACCOUNT of the MANNERS, GOVERNMENT,
RELIGION, &c. of the several Nations visited
by those Fathers:

WITH

EXTRACTS from other Travellers, and miscellaneous NOTES.

By Mr. *LOCKMAN*.

Illustrated with MAPS and SCULPTURES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JOHN NOON, at the White Hart near
Mercer's Chapel, Cheapside.
MDCCXLIII.

TRAVERS

ACCOUNT OF THE ...
RELATION OF THE ...
BY THE ...

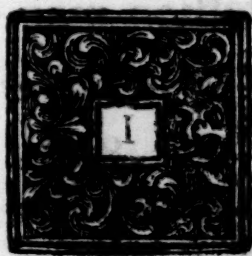


Y. O. I.

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
ARTHUR ONSLOW, Esq;
SPEAKER of the
HOUSE of COMMONS.

S I R,



DO my self the Honour to
wait upon You with the
Voyages and Travels of
the Jesuits : A Body of
Men whose literary Productions will
be as acceptable to You, as the Tenets
and Practices ascribed to them must be
distasteful.

The

ii DEDICATION.

The true Interest of this Work could not have been better consulted than by the present Address; as your Name will be a great Ornament to it, and the best Means of reconciling Me to those Fathers, for the Freedom I have taken, to introduce a considerable Number of Passages from the most celebrated of their Antagonists; since the Jesuits cannot fail, Sir, of finding an equitable Judge in You (and certainly Justice is due to all Men) who, by your Impartiality and Learning, are well qualified for so important an Office. For tho' their Profession may oblige them to observe a certain Decorum outwardly; yet their good Sense, and their profound Knowledge of Men and Things, must persuade Them that there are excellent Characters, even among the Strongest of their Opponents.

The

DEDICATION. iii

The Picture, Sir, which an honourable and most obliging Friend of Mine was pleased to draw of You : The amiable Particulars he told Me concerning your intimate Acquaintance with Literature and the Sciences ; and the Regard you have ever shewn to Them, and to their Professors, made me proud of acquiescing instantly with the Desire He had, that I should grace the following Sheets with your Name,

Those who are conversant with Books, know that the wisest Legislators, antient and modern, always made the Arts and Sciences their peculiar Care; from a firm Persuasion that the cherishing of Them is not only highly honourable to the Patrons, and to their Country, but productive of the most solid Advantages to it: It being an universally received Maxim,
that

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that as the Arts and Sciences are cultivated or neglected, States either flourish or decay, signal Proofs of which are found in the *Greek* and *Roman Histories*.

As Heaven indulges indiscriminately its most valuable Talents to the *Patrician* and *Plebeian*, to the Rich and Poor ; how glorious must it be for Persons, even in the most exalted Stations, to patronize (since they thereby second the Views of Providence, who seems to appoint them as Guardians) all Those whose Endeavours may be of Advantage to Mankind ; and which frequently, for want of some such benign Influence, can never be brought to Maturity ! For could it be supposed that Providence gave Existence to such Men, merely that they should languish away Life in Obscurity, a grievous Burthen to Themselves, and of no Use to Society ; and, at last, drop unre-

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unregarded into the Grave? The *Russians* will be obliged to their great *Czar* for whatever Advances they may hereafter make in the Arts, and for their future Figure as a Nation; and how bright a Lustre must this throw round the Memory of that Monarch, even to the remotest Ages!

The Pleasure, Sir, which you take in promoting the liberal Arts, is evident from the Zeal with which you animate and encourage all such Performances as may be of Service to the Public. And whilst too many of the Great shut their Doors against the Learned in general, they are allowed the most benevolent Access to your House, of which you have the Humanity and Discernment to think them no inconsiderable Ornament.

I shall not enter into the most shining Parts of Your Character, as being

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ing a Task to which I am unequal:
And indeed, how superfluous would
such an Attempt be, after what has
been said on that Occasion by Writers
much superior to

S I R,

Your most humble,

and

most obedient Servant,

John Lockman.



P R E F A C E.



THE WORK which forms the greatest Part of the ensuing Collection is entitled, in the Original, *Lettres édifiantes & curieuses, écrites des Missions étrangères, par quelques Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus* *. The Rise of the Missions which gave Occasion to this Correspondence, is set forth at large by the late Father *le Gobien*, in his Dedication of the first Volume of these Letters to the Jesuits of France, the most essential Parts of which Dedication are given hereunder †.

* That is : *Letters concerning the Conversions of Heathens, &c. intermixed with a great Variety of Subjects relating to Literature and the Sciences: Written, from the foreign Missions, by some Jesuit-Missionaries.* It was necessary for me to translate the Title in this Manner, in order to give the Reader an Idea of the full Extent of it.

† To the JESUITS of FRANCE.

Reverend Fathers,

I HERE communicate to you some Letters, lately received from our Fathers in *China*, and in our other *East-Indian* Missions.

A

'Tis

The Original consists of 25 Volumes, 12mo. which were printed at *Paris* at different Times, as the several

'Tis now almost a Century * since the Jesuits of *France* have been so happy as to first preach the Gospel, or to endeavour daily at its Propagation and Support, in the Continent, and in the Islands of *South-America*; in the most Savage Parts of *Canada* and *North-America*; and in the several Kingdoms of the *Levant*, as *Greece*, *Anatolia*, the Islands of the *Archipelago*; *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Armenia*, and *Persia*, where it is oppress'd and persecuted by the *Heathens* and *Schismatics*. But as tho' these wide-extended Countries had been too narrow for their Zeal, they have endeavoured to spread the Gospel still farther.

In 1658, the Jesuits had an Opportunity of going to *China* and the neighbouring Kingdoms; and even of attempting an Entrance into *Japan*, where a once flourishing Church was grievously persecuted by Tyrants. A vast many Jesuits, from all the Provinces of *France*, offered to share in this holy Expedition; but as their Number was limited, twenty only were chosen, and all these spent the Remainder of their Days in the most painful Labours of the apostolic Life.

Since that Time, a numberless Multitude of others, inflamed by the like Zeal and Spirit, were strongly desirous of engaging in these Missions: But tho' the Harvest was exceedingly plentiful, and the Field very spacious, and capable of employing more Gospel-labourers than all *Europe* cou'd furnish, they yet had the Grief to die, without seeing, except at a Distance, that Land of Promise which Heaven seemed to promise them.

A Letter writ by the famous Father *Ferdinand Verbiest*, glowing with the divine Fire which our Saviour brought into the World and communicated to his Apostles, raised this Zeal still higher. We now had the Consolation to see Persons of distinguished Merit, and of the greatest Capacity, in every Province, voluntarily offer themselves, and earnestly desire to go and sacrifice their Lives and Talents to the Glory of Christ crucified.

This Letter having made the like Impression on the Mind of the late Mr *Colbert*, a most sagacious Statesman, and exceedingly zealous for the Cause of Religion; he considered the Conversion of the *Chinese*, as a Conquest equally glorious to *France*, and to his Majesty's Reign †. Being then busied in improving the Arts and Sciences, and knowing that no Nation can be

* As this Dedication must have been writ about the Year 1717, (the Date in which the first Volume of my Original was printed) it consequently is now above an hundred Years, perhaps about an hundred and thirty.

† *Levis XIV.*

veral Letters came to Hand, or as the Editors thought proper to send them to Press. The first Volume

fonder of them than the *Chineze*; he imagined that the Communication of such Discoveries as might be made in *China*, would reflect the brightest Lustre on the Arts and Sciences; and on the other Hand, that nothing could contribute more to get the Gospel introduced into *China*, than the sending thither such Persons as were equally zealous for the Salvation of Men's Souls, and well skilled in the *European* Sciences.

But the Death of this great Minister suspended the Execution of so noble a Design. However, it did not cool the Fervour of those who had been appointed to conduct so important an Enterprize. This was manifest, some Years after, when Mr. *de Louvois*, a Statesman animated with a Spirit like that of his Predecessor, caused an Embassy, then sending to one of the most powerful Monarchs in *India* (the King of *Siam*) to be of Service to this glorious Enterprize. He address'd the Superiors of our Society for a Supply of Gospel-labourers; and all our Schools, those especially where the Jesuits pursue their theological Studies, being as so many holy Academies, in which the Virtues and Sciences that contribute very much to form the apostolical Character are taught; and serving as so many fervent Seminaries with regard to foreign Missions; the single College of *Lewis XIV*, in *Paris*, furnished a much greater Number of Missionaries than could be taken on Board the Ships.

Among these they appointed six, *viz.* Fathers *de Fontaney*, *Tachard*, *Gerbillon*, *le Comte*, *Bouvet* and *Visdelou*, who were qualified, by their Virtues and Skill in the Mathematicks, for this important Design. The Merit of these first Missionaries was so singular, that a greater Number were soon called for; and his Majesty graciously sent fifteen more. The latter were, some Time after, followed by above threescore others, who are now spread over the wide-extended Provinces of *China*; and in most of the Kingdoms of *India*, *viz.* *Tonquin*, *Bengal*, *Madura*, the *Cormandel* Coast and *Surat*; as the Perusal of these Letters will shew.

You, indeed, won't there find the several Persecutions they suffer'd, and the other Dangers to which they have been continually expos'd; they commonly informing us of such Particulars only, on these Heads, as it is impossible for them to conceal. But I should think it was betraying the Cause of Heaven, and might damp the Zeal of many among you, should I not, till I may have an Opportunity of giving a more minute Account, inform you, in few Words, of what we are told on this Subject.—

Volume was made public in 1717, and the earliest Letter is dated in 1699. The 25th Volume was pub-

That of above fourscore *French* Missionaries, who have set out within these fifteen or sixteen Years * for *India*, and *China*, several suffered Shipwreck, viz. Fathers *Barnabé*, *Nivet de Thierville*, and *Philip Avril*. That contagious Distempers, catch'd either in attending on such Soldiers and Sailors as were sick on Board the Ships, or on *Christians* and *Heathens* ashore, swept away great Numbers, as Fathers *Rochette*, *de Serlu*, *de St. Martin*, *Richaud*, *Ducha*, *de Beze*, *Archambaud*, *Marcel le Blanc*, *Maximin Michel*, *Paregaud*, *Geneix*, *de St. Leu*, *Burin*, *Dolzé*, and Brother *Daudy*: That others suffered a long Imprisonment, wherein they were cruelly treated by *Heathens* and *Hereticks*; as Father *de la Breuille* in *Siam*, Father *d'Espagnac*, who died in Captivity in *Pegu*; Fathers *Tachard*, *de Beze*, *Colusson*, *Marcel le Blanc*, *Comilh*, *Peter Martin*, *Beauvollier*, and Brother *Moricet*. You may easily figure to yourself the Multitude of Sufferings, of another Kind, which await a Missionary, who comes into a Country, with whose Language, Manners, and Customs he is wholly unacquainted; and yet is forced to conform to them, with regard to the Way of Life, Dress, and other Articles of civil Society. Heaven only knows the Persecutions which are raised against them by the Enemy of our Salvation. It may, in some measure, be affirmed, that whatever *St. Paul* relates concerning his Persecutions, suit all our Missionaries, in part; and perhaps some particular ones among them, wholly.

The Letters writ by our Fathers, will inform you of the only Circumstance which can repay their various Toils and Sufferings. They convert, annually, many thousand Infidels; and tho' their Life be exceedingly painful and austere, Heaven softens it with so many Consolations, that they are afraid these should substract too considerable a Portion of their Recompence.

What Zeal soever may be shewn, in procuring those who toil in this Manner, the small Necessaries they cannot absolutely do without; the Labourers are so very numerous, that there is not wherewithal to support them. In compliance with the holy Ardour of many who desired to engage in these Missions, and to assist the Wants of such Nations as sued for our Aid, it was found necessary to send a great Number of Missionaries, all of whom were obliged to rely merely on Providence: And as a considerable Number of Establishments were made, it was thought proper to divide them into two *French* Vice-provinces, one in *China*, and the other in the *East-Indies*.

* This must be now about forty, or one and forty Years since. I wrote in 1742.

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published in 1741, and the last Letter is dated in 1740; consequently these Letters (many of them at least) have one Circumstance to recommend them, I mean Novelty. The first eight Volumes of the Original were communicated to the World by Father *le Gobien*; and the succeeding Volumes by Father *du Halde*, now living, who compiled the four large Folio Volumes, containing a general History of *China*.

The next considerable Pieces are two Journeys, undertaken by the *Chinese* Emperor into *Eastern* and *Western Tartary*, in 1682 and 1683; to which is annexed, a Relation of a Descent made by the *Spaniards*, in 1683, into *California*. These three Pieces make a *Duodecimo* Volume, printed at *Paris* in 1685; and they appearing to me curious, I translated them throughout, and have given them a Place in the present Collection.

I likewise introduced (before the three last mentioned Pieces) all the essential Particulars in a Treatise, written by an Author of great Eminence, the late learned Mr. *la Croze* of *Berlin*, Professor of Philosophy, Librarian, and Antiquary to his *Prussian* Majesty. The Treatise I mean, relates to the State of the *Christian* Religion in *Ethiopia*; was printed at the *Hague* in 1739, 12mo. and intitled *Histoire du Christianisme d' Ethiopie, &c.* As *Ethiopia* is so little known to the *Europeans*, and such fabulous Accounts have been writ concerning it, I made all the Researches possible with regard to its former

We here present you (reverend Fathers) only the first-fruits of these rising Settlements. We conjure you to contribute, by your Vows, your Prayers, and Sacrifices, towards obtaining for us, by the heavenly Mercy, others much more considerable.—

I am, reverend Fathers,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

CHARLES LE GOBIEN.

and present State ; and 'twas in this View I drew up, from *Purchas's Pilgrim*, an accurate Abridgment of a very curious Tract, viz. *the Patriarch Bermudez's Relation of the Expedition of the Portugueze into Abyssinia*. These, with some other Pieces which I may add afterwards, will form the Text of the ensuing Volumes.

The Notes with which this Work is interspersed, are of a very miscellaneous Kind, historical, geographical, critical, &c. as each will shew ; and I have always taken care to quote my several Authorities.

To return to the *Lettres édifiantes & curieuses*. As the geographical and other Particulars found in them, are intermix'd with a long Detail of the Miracles, as well as of the Conversions which the Jesuits declare they make in their Missions ; it was necessary for me to expunge all Incidents of this Kind, (those excepted, here and there, which I presumed might entertain) such appearing quite insipid or ridiculous to most *English* Readers ; and indeed to all Persons of Understanding and Taste.

However, this gave me no little Trouble, of which those only could be fully sensible, who should compare my Extracts with the Originals. These would perceive the Pains I must necessarily have taken, in making Choice of such Particulars only as I imagined were useful or entertaining ; for which Reason I sometimes took only one, two, three or more Lines from different Parts of a Page ; when omitting sometimes ten, or more, Pages together, I connected these several Extracts, without foisting in any Thing of my own, which I can affirm I have not done once. It must be confess'd, that this may seem to be of no Advantage, in one Respect, to the Originals ; However, had some of the Translators and Compilers of the six justly celebrated Volumes of Voyages and Travels, printed for *Churchill*, &c. (not to mention

tion others) struck out as freely as I have done, their Folios, would have shrunk considerably: As, on the other Hand, their Performances must have been perused with infinitely greater Pleasure, and would have done Honour to the original Authors, had the Writers in question been better skilled in their own Language; in those from which they translated, and been careful of their Diction.

It likewise cost me no little Pains to compare, so often as I was obliged to do, the Names of Places mentioned in the Jesuits Letters, with those specified in our Maps. To this I would add, (had it not been a Satisfaction which infinitely overpaid the Trouble I might be at on this Occasion) my setting the several Maps before me; and accompanying, as it were, the Fathers perpetually in their Peregrinations, both by Sea and Land. Persons of a strong Imagination will easily figure to themselves the Pleasure, which this must have given me. On the other Hand, I don't know any Nation who disguise proper Names more than the *French*, a Circumstance which often is very perplexing to a Translator. The Rule I observed, with Regard to such Names as I could not find in our Maps or Authors, was, to express their several Sounds as nearly as I could, by the corresponding ones in our Language. Some may very probably disapprove of this Method, but I could not think of any other so much to the Purpose; especially as I have frequently given the Names, as written in *French*, at the Bottom of the Page.

I am apprehensive that some Persons, who allow nothing in a Book but what is absolutely useful, will, like others who would strip off all Superfluities in Dress, accuse me for not suppressing still more. My Answer is, that I endeavoured to please, to the best of my Power, all sorts of Readers; and I know that some are very agreeably entertained

with the solitary, the wild Perambulations of these Fathers, in far-distant Countries little known to us, tho' scarce any Advantage could accrue from thence to the Arts, to Geography, or Philosophy. Frequently, 'tis not the Subject alone shall engage a Reader's Attention, but the manner in which it is treated; and the Jesuits are acknowledged to be fine Painters. However, as Narratives of this Kind may tire some People, I endeavoured to enliven such Relations by Notes. In the Whole, 'twas a Maxim with me, to insert many Things useles, rather than omit one of Consequence. Those who shall condemn my Judgment in this respect, need but hurry over such Pages as may disgust: But nothing could have attoned for my Omission of one important Particular.

The Word *Extract* being mentioned above, and in the Course of these Travels, it may not, I believe, be improper, as it is sometimes suppos'd (tho' falsely) to imply a double Meaning, to observe in what Sense I take it here. In making these several Extracts, I did not reduce a Subject to a proportionably-smaller Dimensions, as when a Person is painted in Miniature; but selected such Particulars only as I imagined were necessary, and gave these at large, as in the Originals. However, this is spoke only of the *Lettres édifiantes & curieuses*, and a few other Pieces which form the Text; the Extracts, in many of my Notes, being of the first Kind.

I believe it will be granted, that no Men are better qualified to describe Nations and Countries than the Jesuits. Their Education, their extensive Learning; the Pains they take to acquire the Languages of the several Regions they visit; the Opportunities they have, by their Skill in the Arts & Sciences, as well as by their insinuating Address, to glide into Courts, where Access is often denied to all but them.

themselves : Their Familiarity with the Inhabitants; their mixing with, and, often, very long Abode among them ; these, I say, must necessarily give our Jesuits a much more perfect Insight into the Genius and Character of a Nation, than others who visit Coasts only, and that merely upon Account of Traffic, or from other lucrative Motives. In case these Mercantile Travellers happen to go up a Country, and make some little Stay in it, the most they are able to do is, to get a few of the most obvious Customs; to describe Habits, Buildings, and whatever else comes under the Notice of the Eye : But as to the Genius of the Inhabitants, their Religion, their Government, and other important Articles, these they can learn only superficially ; since they must depend wholly, for Information, upon the Natives, in case they understand their Language ; or upon Foreigners who may have resided some Years among them. Upon the Whole therefore, 'tis my Opinion, that the Jesuits, to speak in general, have the best Opportunity of furnishing us with valuable Accounts of many far distant Countries. Probably the only Circumstance which restrains the Pens of most of them, is their Profession, and certain private Views. This may be the Reason why they often deviate from Truth in their Relations ; trouble the Public with many unentertaining Particulars, and omit others from which the World might have reaped the highest Advantage.

The Jesuits, particularly those of *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, have been proved to exaggerate so greatly in their Accounts ; to give so much into the Marvellous, and to assert so many Falsities, that, like the Shepherd's Boy in the Fable, many People won't believe them even when they do speak Truth. For this Reason, I judged it very necessary to examine their Relations carefully, and to compare them with those of such Travellers as are
in

in the greatest Repute for their Veracity and Talents. Passages from many of these form one Species of my Notes. Abstracted from the Pleasure which, I imagined, they would give to many Readers; I thought it a Justice due to the Fathers, to set all their Truths in the most advantageous Light in my Power. And here let me be permitted to hint again, that the *French* Jesuits have imposed, in their Relations, far less on the World than those of the abovementioned Countries; which, no doubt, is owing to their good Sense and superior Abilities. Being born and educated in a Country where Learning flourishes, a great part of the Individuals of it must necessarily be more enlightned, and therefore not apt to be so much misled as other Nations, in which Ignorance and Superstition prevail. In all probability, the Jesuits adapt their Writings to the Genius and Capacity of their respective Countrymen.

As I have not omitted the many advantageous Things which these Fathers say of themselves; the Account they give of their very severe Austerities; of the surprizing Pains they take in making Converts, and the various Difficulties and Dangers which they go through for that Purpose; I imagined that Justice called upon me, to exhibit them in the very different Colours in which they are represented by their Opponents. It may be objected, that the Maxims and Practices of the Jesuits are so well known in the *British* Realms, that all farther Precautions would be unnecessary. However, in my humble Opinion, a great Evil cannot be too much guarded against; not to mention the Entertainment which these Incidents and Reflections may sometimes afford; and what we are told with regard to the indefatigable Industry of the *Romish* Priests, of late Years, in making Converts among us. Besides, very few Particulars, quoted by me, concerning the horrid Practices with which they are

are charged, are borrowed from *English* Writers, but from Foreigners, many of whom are little known in our Country. Of these, one of the principal is a Work consisting of eight Volumes, 12mo. said to be drawn up by some *French* Authors, equally conspicuous for their Probity and Learning, among whom is reckoned the excellent Dr. *Arnauld**, (tho' others deny this.) This Work is entitled, *La morale pratique des Jesuites*, (the practical Morals of the Jesuits.) The first Volume was printed in 1684, and the last in 1695. The Reader will find, in the Course of the following Travels, that I have borrowed very freely from these Volumes. I must observe however, that I don't pretend to warrant the Truth of any Passages extracted from them, or from any other Opponent of the Jesuits; any more than I do those Particulars, translated by me, which the Fathers relate in favour of themselves.

A Circumstance to which I attended particularly, was to give, in Notes of this Kind, some Account of the Authors of them, whenever it was in my Power. I thought this a Justice due to the Fathers, as a Reader is thereby the better enabled to form a Judgment with respect to the more or less Stress which ought to be laid on the Assertions of such Writers. To give one Instance: As our Countryman *Gage*, the Traveller, (mention'd in my 3d Vol.) is very severe on the Jesuits, I thought it incumbent on me to observe, that he himself was a Convert from the Church of *Rome*; now 'tis well known, that Profelytes to all Religions are, in general, apt to be most partially bitter in their Invectives against the Church they quitted; consequently the Censures of

* The six last Volumes are said to be either writ or compiled by Dr. *Arnauld*. See *Histoire de la vie & des ouvrages de Mr. Arnauld*, Pag. 192. & seq. — 1697, 12mo. See likewise the Supplement to *Moreri's Dictionary*, Paris, 1735, Folio, Article de *Pont-Château*, where it is affirmed that Mr. de *Pont Château* wrote the two first Volumes of the *Morale Pratique*, and Dr. *Arnauld* the six last. See also the Article of *Arnauld (Antoine)* in the foresaid Supplement.

such a Writer are not, in this Case, of equal Weight with another who was ever attached (at least outwardly) to the Principles in which he had been educated.

Our Jesuits may be considered in two very different Lights. In the one they appear as celestial Ministers, in the other as infernal Spirits. Can we possibly figure to ourselves a more amiable Being, than a Man, who, after enriching his Mind with the noblest Treasures of Knowledge, voluntarily quits his Friends, his Relations, and his native Country; hazards himself to all the Perils of the Sea; and afterwards goes ashore, tho' scarce provided with any Necessaries, among a barbarous People, with whose Language he is utterly unacquainted; there roves, in their wildest Solitudes, in danger, every Moment, of falling down Precipices, or into deep Chasms of the Earth; of being murdered by wild Beasts or by the Natives; and all this solely from a Desire of polishing their Minds, of assisting their corporeal Part, and of saving their Souls? Now such they are represented by themselves and their Adherents.

On the other Hand, if we reflect on a Man whose only Design, in acquiring Learning, is to impose upon his Fellow-creatures; who, under the Cloak of Religion, and to serve a Set of detestable Politicians, undertakes long Voyages; visits foreign Regions, and there ingratiates himself with the several Natives of them, in order to seize upon their Riches; and make them Slaves in their own Country, where, amid their virtuous Ignorance, they enjoyed undisturbed Felicity: Can Imagination frame a more horrid Creature than this? Such is the Character their Antagonists give of them. This double View puts me in mind of a Picture I have seen representing an Angel, when, turning up the Bottom of it, a cloven Foot appears.

I don't doubt but that some Persons of the *Romish* Persuasion, will be grievously offended at me for introducing, in a Work of this Kind, such a Number of Passages, highly injurious to a Body of Men for whom they express the utmost Veneration. I answer, that my View, in translating and compiling this Work, was not to make Profelytes to the Church of *Rome*; and that most of the Passages in question are borrowed from Writers who professed the same Principles with themselves; and some of them the noblest Ornaments, both for Piety and Learning, of their Age and Country, among whom Father *Paul* and Mr. *Pascal* stand in the foremost Rank; consequently the Resentment of such Persons ought to rise much higher against those Writers than against me. Besides, as the Jesuits have ever taken, and still take so much Pains to trumpet their own Virtues *, whether real or pretended, should not those be heard who offer to explode them? If the Invectives of the latter are just, we are obliged to them for the Discovery; if groundless, the regular and truly-pious Conduct of the Jesuits will, in Time, invalidate the Calumny, and bring a deserved Odium on the Memory of those who raised it. But as Matters stand, no one, I presume, will wonder that an *English* Protestant, who endeavours to give an accurate Version of their Missions, without disguising a single Circumstance; should, as a Lover of Truth, of Mankind, and of his na-

* I have now before me a curious Work of this Kind, splendidly printed at *Antwerp*, Anno 1677, in a large 4to. 'Tis dedicated to holy Mother Church (*Sancæ Matri Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Romanæ*, &c.) And entitled, *Elogia Societatis Jesu, sive propugnaculum pontificum, conciliorum, cardinalium, antistitum, nec non Imperatorum, Regum, Pontificum, & aliorum virtute, religione, omnique Literatura illustrium* (etiam Hæreticorum) *Testimonis: Quæ expressis verbo, quæ scripto consignatis constructum: & in tres partes divisum. a P. Christophoro Gomez ejusdem Societatis.* Part of my Work may be considered as a Contrast to this of Father Gomez.

tive Country, present an Antidote along with it. The Reader may, if he pleases, consider me, in some measure, as the Slave who attended the *Roman Generals* in their Triumphs.

One Circumstance, which must make all sensible and unprejudiced Persons suspect very much the Veracity of the Jesuits in general, is the Accounts they give of Miracles pretended to be wrought in the Scenes of their several Missions. As these Fathers often insist very warmly upon the Reality of them; at the same Time, that the Falsity of these Miracles is apparent to all Persons of good Sense; this must naturally prejudice all such Readers against the other Parts of the Relations of our Fathers, or at least incline them to be very sceptical whilst they peruse them. These Miracles too may have been of singular Advantage to their Opponents, since they gave them a very good Opportunity of representing the Jesuits as egregious Liars, and consequently as Persons to whom no manner of Credit ought to be given, on any Account; whence their Enemies may often have been induc'd to blacken them more than they really deserved. My Opinion, in general, is, that the Jesuits are to be credited equally with other Travelers, whenever Religion is out of the Case; or, in other Words, the temporal Interests of their Society.

But to return. If I myself have sometimes aim'd at Reflections of the abovementioned Kind, 'tis only on certain Occasions which rais'd such an Indignation in me as I could not possibly conceal. Having a natural Aversion to Hypocrisy in every Shape, and a strong Inclination to speak my Thoughts at all Times when I presume it necessary; I could not forbear venturing them on Paper, whenever I suppos'd an
Impo-

Imposition glaring, or even suspicious *. However, I hope I have never done this in a Manner unworthy a Man of Probity, and a Lover of Literature.

As a Friend to my native Country, I heartily

* Here follows an Example of this Character. In the 4^{to} Latin Volume, hinted at in the above Note, and entitled, *Elogia Societatis Jesu, &c.* p. 448, under the Article *Hereticks*, the famous Lord Bacon is said to observe: that the *Jesuits* have reviv'd, in a great Measure, in their Colleges, the excellent Education of the Antients: And that, when he considers their Prudence and Care, in training up their Pupils to Learning and Virtue, he could not forbear applying to them what *Agesilaus* said of *Pharnabazus*; *Such being thy Character, wou'd thou wert on our Side.* The Latin Passage quoted by the Jesuit is as follows: *Quæ nobilissima pars priscae disciplinæ revocata est quasi postliminio in Jesuitarum Collegiis; quorum cum intueor industriam, solertiamque tam in doctrina excolenda, quàm moribus informandis, illud occurrit Agesilai de Pharnabazo: Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses.* This indeed is an exact Citation from Lord Bacon, and is found in his Works, Vol. I. p. 35. London 1730. Folio. So far the Father is just: But now follows what may be suspected of *Jesuitism*. The Father does not tell us that Lord Bacon ever wrote a Word against the *Jesuits*: and yet those who peruse his Lordship's Works will find, that he levels his Pen at them more than once, as on the following Occasion. Speaking of the Felicity of *England*, under Queen *Elizabeth*, in Comparison of other Countries, in his Observations on a Libel, (written, in the Opinion of the reverend Mr. T. Baker of St. John's College in Cambridge, by Parsons the Jesuit) entitled, *A Declaration of the true Causes of the great Troubles presupposed to be intended against the Realm of England*; Lord Bacon observes as follows: "Even
" at this Instant, in the Kingdom of *Spain*, notwithstanding
" the Pioneers do still work in the *Indian Mines*, the *Jesuits*
" most play the Pioneers, and mine the *Spaniards* Purfes; and
" under the Colour of a ghostly Exhortation, contrive the great-
" est Exaction that ever was in any Realm." See Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 363. Edit. ut supr. It may be objected, that the Author of the *Elogia Societatis, &c.* perhaps never met with the Tract of Lord Bacon, from which the last mention'd Passage was borrow'd: But is it not equally probable to suppose, as the *Jesuits* are extremely careful to communicate to one another all Pieces levell'd at the papal Power, that the Piece in Question (thought to be writ by one of their Brethren) cou'd scarce have escap'd Father Gomez's Notice? Not to mention that Lord Bacon glances, as was observ'd above, at those Fathers in other Places.

with

wish the *Jesuits* for ever at a Distance from it; and yet I wou'd not have it imagined that I bear an Enmity to every Member of their Society: So far from it, there are some of them with whom I was intimate in *Paris*, whose reputed Virtue and Abilities I sincerely venerate. I am not one of Those who condemn Bodies of Men in the Gross; being firmly persuaded that there are excellent Persons in most. Nor wou'd I have it thought that I am an Enemy to the *Romanists*, merely because they are such. Surely none but the narrowest, the most barbarous Minds, can entertain Prejudices of this Kind: And that Man must be quite ignorant of human Nature, must have reaped very small Advantage from his Studies and his Correspondence with Mankind, whose Temper is not softned to the most extensive Benevolence for the Good and Virtuous of all Parties, Orders, Persuasions and Nations.

In the whole, I reverence the *Jesuits* as much as any Man can do, for their Learning, and the excellent Education they bestow on Youth, of which I myself have been an Eye-witness; for their Knowledge in the Arts and Sciences, and the Discoveries they make in them: But I detest proportionably the Maxims and horrid Practices with which they are charged.

As an Admirer of the first mentioned Particulars, I endeavoured to do Justice to their Compositions; and as an Abhorrer of the latter, I introduced many satyrical Incidents and Reflections from the most celebrated of their Opponents.

The Reflection upon the Cunning and Dissimulation which prevail so much in the World, has sometimes made me think of the *Jesuits* in a Manner very different from that in which they are usually considered among us; I mean, not as sanguinary Men, but only as a Sett of People who are profoundly skilled in Arts, in the Practice of which

which the generality of People endeavour to rival one another, I mean Hypocrisy and Cunning; consequently, that the sharp Censures of some of their Enemies might be looked upon as the Effect of Envy, arising solely from their being surpassed by these Fathers in the very profitable Talents abovementioned; as Wits and Beauties shall pull one another to Pieces, from a like invidious Motive. How far-fetch'd soever and unjust this Reflection may appear, (as I am persuaded it is in the general) it perhaps will be thought applicable to certain Orders of Friars, whose Hatred to the *Jesuits* is said to proceed from no other Cause than their being outwitted and eclipsed by them.

I am persuaded that many Readers will think some of my Reflections too light and ludicrous, and unbecoming a Work of so serious a Turn as these Travels. I shou'd be sorry to disgust any Person, but know it wou'd be impossible to please all. The very Circumstance which shall win a Man the Favour of one Party, shall draw upon him the Indignation of its opposite. I indeed will confess, that I cannot look with Gravity on many Objects which Multitudes gaze upon with Awe and Admiration. I think I know the World so well, as to be certain that a Variety of Things which are beheld seriously, wou'd, were the Mask pull'd off, be found mere Farce, and the highest Imposition upon the Understandings of Mankind. However, let no one be so injurious to me as to imagine, that I hereby glance at true Religion; on the contrary, 'tis my unalterable Opinion, that the due Practice of its Dictates are, of all Things, the most worthy a rational Creature, and most conducive to his Happiness.

The Learned will probably think, that I might have spared a Multitude of these Notes. I shou'd be proud of any of their Hints;
a and

and will observe, that cou'd it have been supposed they wou'd have been the only Readers, I shou'd not have added one. But as this Work may possibly fall into a Variety of Hands, I flatter myself that several of these Notes, as well on Account of their Novelty, as for the Matter, will please many Persons less conversant in Literature. A great Number of Readers are glad to meet with every Thing necessary for the Illustration of the Subject they are upon, in the Work itself, without being obliged to have Recourse to other Books. This suits the Supineness of some, and the slender Circumstances of others; and here are two Sorts of Readers, who, I believe, will not think me too prolix. Nevertheless, I very probably may have been so in some Places. Desirous of instructing myself, and delighted with the Articles I was compiling, my Pen slid along insensibly, and frequently took in more than I at first designed; as Men who set out for a pleasurable Airing, are often invited to wander much farther than they at first intended to go. Again, some of these Notes will, perhaps, betray the Familiarity of a *tête-à-tête*, and appear not writ with the Regard which ought always to be shown the Public. I must crave their Indulgence on this Occasion. Wrapt in my Subject, I sometimes imagined I was writing only for myself, or for an intimate Friend; not considering that whatever I should venture to say on these Occasions, might be canvassed by thousands who are infinitely better Judges of these Matters than myself.

I have re-translated a great number of the Passages borrowed by me, from such *French* and *Italian* Authors as had appeared in *English* before. Most of those relating to Countries are copied from Travelers of the greatest Reputation; and I sometimes have transcribed a Passage or two from a Book which I judged to be the only valuable Particulars

in it. A great Part of the Materials will therefore, I hope, be found good, how unskilful soever the Architect may appear.

Upon a Review, I find that some Notes are not divided into their proper Breaks; as in my Abridgment of Mr. *Lord's Discovery of the Sect of the Banians, &c.* an Imperfection I did not discover till it was past Remedy. There likewise are Inaccuracies, here and there, in the Orthography and the Pointing. Some Things will appear to a Disadvantage, occasioned by my not procuring certain Books early enough. Perhaps too, there are a few Repetitions, which must be owing to my having been often obliged to lay aside this Work for a considerable Time.

Many of the Quotations in Verse, are not introduced for the Beauty of the Numbers, but merely on Account of the Thought, and as this suited my Purpose. No intelligent Reader will consider these as Proofs, but only as so many Flights suggested by the Imagination of the Poet, I giving them only as such.

The original Letters, consisting of 25 Volumes, (as was observed) sell for near four Pounds; and as I shall reduce them to almost a third Part of that Sum, this, I hope, will be considered as some little Merit. The two *Ostavos* now published include about ten Volumes of the Original; and the remaining fifteen, besides some other curious Pieces which I intend to introduce, will make three *Ostavo* Volumes more. The Reader will please to observe, that I have not brought the other Pieces, interwoven by me, into the above-mentioned Account of the Expence.

Several eminent Authors, of different Nations, have had Recourse to the *Lettres édifiantes & curieuses*, as to a Storehouse, and borrowed a considerable Number of Particulars from them; and,

among others, our *Royal Society*, who introduced some Discoveries of these Fathers into their *Transactions*.

Many of my Originals, notwithstanding their being stuffed with such a Multitude of tedious and insignificant Particulars, have borne various Editions in *France*. When they first came to my Hands, which was some Years since, I thought they abounded with excellent Materials; and, for that Reason, I resolved to attempt a Version of the most valuable Parts of them, the first Opportunity; and communicating my Design to a few Friends, of known Taste and Learning, they seemed to approve it very much. I am sensible that 'tis often with Translators as with Lovers; each of them shall fancy numberless Beauties in the several Objects of their Delight, which are quite invisible to all but themselves: But I hope none of my Prejudices, in Favour of the present Work, are so ill grounded. I shall observe, by the Way, that our *Jesuits* Letters are less clogg'd with Conversions and Miracles, the farther we proceed; which possibly was owing to their finding that such Particulars, instead of recommending their Compositions very much prejudiced the Sale of them; or that they had exhausted the Faith of their Readers.

I have mentioned the Titles of all such Letters as are entirely omitted by me, and their several Subjects. When the whole Work is finished, I design to add a copious Index; presuming it more useful to give a general One, than particular Indexes to each Volume.

As a considerable Number of *Jesuits* are settled in the great Peninsula on this Side the *Ganges*, I have introduced a curious Map of those Parts, taken from that in Mr. *la Croze's Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, with which excellent Work I have

have made very free. The various Sculptures and Maps, given by the Jesuits in these Letters, will all be introduced in their proper Places, a very few excepted, which can be of no Use ; and particularly One inserted in the sixth Volume of my Originals, pag. xxxi, representing the *New Philippines*, or *los Palaos*, as pretended to have been laid down, with Pebbles, by a Native of them ; this Map appearing to me a mere Chimæra.

During the Course of this Work my Object was Truth, to discover which I spared no Pains, as will, I presume, be evident on many Occasions, and particularly in my Enquiries concerning the *New Philippine Islands*, or *los Palaos* ; the Sources of the *Nile* ; the *Jews* who are said to have lived, from Time immemorial, in *China* ; and the Religion of the *East-Indians* : I indeed have extracted many Passages from the Antagonists of our Fathers, without examining them critically ; they being given by me merely on the Authority of the several Writers, by which therefore I desire they may stand or fall. I doubtless may often have mist of what I so zealously sought after on every Occasion, which might proceed from my little Abilities, my small Stock of Reading ; and the Liberty that a Multitude of Travellers, besides the Jesuits, take, to amplify and disguise Matters. However, my Intention was good, and this alone will justify me in the Minds of all candid Readers.

The Public may be assured, that I have endeavoured to make my Version not altogether unworthy their Notice. I am sensible that 'tis not equally correct, or well turned, in all Places, which was owing to a Variety of Accidents. For not to observe, among other Things, that I sometimes thought the Subject did not require much polishing ; 'tis no very easy Task to translate these Letters with Spirit, and to give them the Air of an Original,

nal, they being writ in a Style quite different from that of most other Travellers ; and the Subjects infinitely various. However, tho' I may often have been too negligent with regard to the Diction, I yet was ever extremely careful as to the Sense ; and can affirm that I have been no less so, in comparing every Word throughout the whole Version with the several Originals, and in correcting the Proofs. I insist on these Particulars, because they are frequently disregarded (and are too often forced to be so) by Translators and Compilers. Hard Fate, that a Sett of Men, the Grace and Elegance of whose Performances depend very much on a pleasing Flow of the Spirits, should, by the Pittance they commonly receive for their Labours, be quite depressed in their noblest Faculties ! On the other Hand, so many Expences attend a Translation before it appears in the World ; and then its Fate is so very precarious, that often 'tis not in the Power of Booksellers to pay a Writer suitably to his Abilities, and the Pains he may have taken.

To conclude : I set about this Work by Way of Amusement, and to revive a favourite Study. Geography, and Books of Voyages and Travels, had ever afforded me a most pleasing Entertainment ; but I had been forced to lay them aside many Years. 'Twas therefore with peculiar Satisfaction that I resumed them ; and I only wish that the intelligent Reader may not discover too much of the Pupil in my Performance.

Nov. 1742.

J. Lockman.

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THE





TRAVELS

OF THE

JESUITS,

INTO

Various PARTS of the WORLD:

Extracted from their LETTERS.

Father MARTIN, to Father DE VILLETTE.

Ballafore *, *in the Kingdom of*
Bengal, Jan. 30. 1699 †.

Reverend Father,

I HAVE received the Letters you was so good
as to send me. I will not tell you the Pleasure
I felt, when these kind Testimonies of your
Friendship came to my Hands. 'Tis a greater Sa-

* This Town is situated near the Mouth of a River of the
same Name, which empties itself in the Bay of Bengal. Here
all European Ships, bound for Bengal and the Ganges, take in a
Pilot. 'Tis a Town of some Trade, and the English have a
Factory there.

† In England we should write it thus, 30. January 1699:
but the French do not begin the Year differently; that is, some
the 1st of January, and others the 25th of March; and conse-
quently avoid a great deal of Confusion often occasioned in Eng-
land, by our ridiculous Manner of beginning the Year at two dif-
ferent Times. The French always begin their Year with the 1st
of January.

N. B. Vol. I. of the Original begins with the Letter above.

B

tisfaction

2 TRAVELS of the JESUITS.

tisfaction to us Travellers than you can imagine, to find, in such far distant Countries, that our Friends have not forgot us ; but on the contrary, that they, whilst we are combatting, lift up their Hands to Heaven, and assist us with their Prayers. I can assure you, I have had great Occasion for them since I left you, and have been exposed to imminent Dangers.

I came into *India* by Order of my Superiours. I will own that I was not displeased to leave *Persia*, I being desirous of engaging in another Mission, imagining it to be more laborious, and more exposed to Sufferings. I met with what I sought for sooner than I expected. In the Voyage I was taken by the *Arabs*, and imprisoned for refusing to embrace the *Mahommedan* Religion. Those Infidels could not discover who we (Father *Beauvossier* my Companion, and myself) were ; tho' they did all that lay in their Power for that Purpose, and still thought that we were born in *Constantinople*. What misled them on this Occasion was, our reading Books in the *Turkish* and *Persian* Languages. We did not endeavour to undeceive 'em, till one of 'em insisted upon our professing their abominable Religion ; upon which we declared aloud, that we were Christians, but at the same time concealed our native Country. We then inveighed against their Impostor *Mahommed*, which exasperated them to such a Degree, that they seized our Ship, tho' it belonged to *Moors* ; and carrying us on Shore threw us into Prison *. They took my Companion and myself several times before the Magistrates, to seduce us, if possible ; but finding that, by God's Mercy, we were always firm and resolute, they at last grew weary of persecuting us ; and thereupon sent an Ex-

* It was very natural for the *Arabs* to do this ; nothing being more apt to incense a People, than to hear their Religion made the Object of Ridicule.

press to the Governor, to know in what Manner they should dispose of us. Orders were sent to set us at Liberty, provided we were not *Frankis*, or *Europeans*, which these People hardly suspected, as we always spoke the *Turkish* Language; and as Father *Beauvillier* read none but *Arabic* Books, and myself others writ in *Persian*. Thus God did not think us worthy of suffering Death on this Occasion, for the Glory of his holy Name; so that we escaped, after having been imprisoned, and otherwise ill-treated *.

From thence we came to *Surat* †, where Father

* 'Tis observed that the Roman-Catholicks are as zealous in propagating their Religion among Heathens, as the Protestants are negligent in that Particular, some of our Factories not having a single Chaplain; whilst the Romish Missionaries not only visit Sea-Ports, but insinuate themselves into Capital Cities, and the most inland Countries, and there build Churches, &c.

† *The most famous trading City in India, and subject to the Great Mogul.* . . . To this I must add, that *Surat* is two or three Miles round. 'Tis vastly populous, and the Bazar or Market-Place is thronged with Merchants. The Great *Mogul* appoints the Governor of the Castle; and there also is a Governor of the City, who is Lieutenant or Deputy to the Viceroy of the Province. The *Moors* have the sole Government here, as in all other Towns in *India* subject to the Great *Mogul*. The *English*, *French* and *Dutch*, carry on a great Trade in this City, the Natives of which are either *Moors*, *Banians*, *Persees* or *Halichors*, who are employed in the vilest Offices. Tho' it is so vastly populous, yet few Tumults ever happen in it. Most Nations here, have their several Burying-places out of the Town. That of the *Persees*, who expose their Dead to be devoured by Vultures, forms one of the most shocking Spectacles that can be seen. The *English* and *Dutch* have also their Burying-Places; in the latter of which, a Monument is built, embellished with three capacious Punch-Bowls, where the *Dutch*, according to the Request of the Commander who lies buried there, frequently make merrym. The President of our *East India* Company at *Surat* lives in great State, and superintends all their Settlements on the West and North of *India*. This President is respected almost as much as the Governor. The *Europeans* settled here suffer greatly whenever any Ships of the *Moors* are taken by Pirates. The *Moors*, *Banians*, *Armenians*, *Jews* and *Arabs*, carry on a much greater Trade than either the *English*, *French* or *Dutch*.

4 TRAVELS of the JESUITS.

Beauvillier continued, in order to be Superiour of the House belonging to our Society in that City. I my self did not make any Stay there, but went to *Bengal*; after having run the Hazard, more than once, of falling into the Hands of the *Dutch*.

As soon as I was arrived in that noble Kingdom, which is subject to the *Mahommedans*, tho' almost all the People are Idolaters, I began to apply myself assiduously to the Study of the *Bengal* Language. In five Months I made such a Progress in it, that I was qualified to disguise myself, and enter into a famous University of *Bramins* ||. As we hitherto had acquired but a very slight Knowledge of their Religion, our Fathers were desirous that I should reside two or three Years there, in order that I might learn it perfectly. This I had determined, and was going to put my Design in execution, when a furious War breaking out on a sudden, between the *Mahommedans* and Idolaters; there was no Safety for any one, especially for *Europeans*. Upon this, my Superiours permitted me to go into a neighbouring Kingdom * called *Orixa*; after which I went with three more Fathers to *Pondicherry* †, the only tolerable Fortrefs the *French* possess in *India*. The *Dutch* took it about five Years since. We have a handsome Church there, of which we are again to take Possession, at the same time that it is restored to the *French*.

Here, excellent Father, we shall be in the Neighbourhood of the Mission of *Madura* ‡, the noblest,

|| Priests among the idolatrous *East Indians*.

* These Jesuits in their Travels often give the Name of Kingdom to what we call Province. *Orixa* is in the Bay of *Bengal*, on this Side the *Ganges*.

† On the Coast of *Coromandel*. . . . I shall add, that it is also called *Pullichery*, and is one of the prettiest Fortifications in the *East Indies*.

‡ An inland Kingdom, in the great Peninsula, on this Side the *Ganges*.

in my Opinion, in the World. Seven Jesuits, most of them *Portuguese*, are employed there. The People of *Madura* have no Communication with the *Europeans*, who, by their riotous Excesses, have corrupted all the Christians in *India*. The *Madurans* spend their Lives with the utmost Sobriety and Frugality, they not concerning themselves with traffic, but are contented with the Food and Raiment which their native Country supplies them with.

The Missionaries lead an extremely mortified Life. Their only Dress is a long Piece of Linnen Cloth wound about their Bodies; and they wear Sandals, which, by their Shape, are exceedingly troublesome. They abstain totally from Bread, Wine, all Sorts of Meat, and even Fish. They eat nothing but Rice, Pulse and Herbs, plain, and without Seasoning of any Kind: And 'tis with great Difficulty they get a little Flower to make Wafers with, and Wine for the Mass. They are not known to be *Europeans*; for were the Natives to have the least Notion of this, the Fathers would be obliged to quit the Country, since it would be impossible for them to do any good there. Several Motives prompt the *Indians* to have the *Europeans* in so much Horror. Great Cruelties have been committed in their Countries; they have been Eye-witnesses to the most shocking Examples of Vices of every Kind. But that which offends 'em most is, their seeing the *Europeans* eat Flesh; a Practice, according to them, so very horrid, that they look upon all who make it their Food, as infamous.

To this rigorous Life of the Missionaries, add their continual Danger of falling into the Hands of Thieves, who are here more numerous than among the *Arabs*. The Fathers are almost afraid of keeping any Thing under Lock and Key, for fear they should be suspected of hoarding up Riches. They are obliged to carry and preserve all their little

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Moveables in earthen Pots or Vessels. They call themselves *Bramins*, that is, *Divines*, come out of the North to teach the Law of the true God. Tho' they are obliged to lead a Life of the greatest Poverty, and require but little Money for their own Support, they yet are forced to expend considerable Sums in maintaining their Catechists * ; not to mention what is extorted from them by the Natives. They often suffer Persecution : And not above four Years since, one of our most famous and most holy Missionaries, was beheaded by a Prince of *Maravas* †, for preaching Christ.

Last Year, Father *Bouvet* brought hither a considerable Number of new Missionaries. His Majesty's Squadron likewise brought in a small, but well chosen Company, who are designed for this wide-extended Empire. These are Fathers *Fouquet*, *Pelisson* and *d'Entrecolle* ; and the Brothers *Rhodés* and *Fraperie*, who are exceedingly well-skill'd in Physic. They are excellent Men, and justly worthy of labouring in so fine a Vineyard. Father *d'Entrecolle* was admired for the Zeal and Charity exerted by him on board. The Royal Squadron was afflicted with a grievous Mortality in *India*, which swept away a great Part of the Crews; I being then within an hundred Leagues of the Port where the Ships put in. The Moment we heard of their Calamity, myself, with Father *d'Entrecolle*, took Boat in order to go and succour them. At our Arrival, we found two Chaplains were dead, and that all the Surgeons of the several Ships were either dead or

* Catechists are Persons who are perfectly instructed by the Jesuits, in the Mysteries of the Christian Religion; and whom they send before them into the several Villages, to teach the Inhabitants what such Catechists had learn'd. They keep an exact Register of those who want to be baptized, or to receive the Sacraments; of such as are engaged in Contests, lead bad Lives, &c.

† A small Kingdom between *Madura* and the Fishing Coast.

sick; so that we were obliged, during two Months, to serve as Physicians, Surgeons, Chaplains, and Inspectors. The Monsoons made it necessary for Father *d'Entrecolle* to set out with Father *Fouquet* and Brother *Fraperie*, who also came (after us) to assist in his Majesty's Ships; so that I was left almost alone, for a considerable Time, having the Care of above five hundred sick Persons, some of whom were infected with contagious Distempers. Two more Jesuits came afterwards, and shared in this holy Labour; tho' they little expected to have an Opportunity of doing their Countrymen such important Services in this Part of the World.

The Hand of God was evidently seen on this Occasion. 'Twas next to a Miracle that we had an Opportunity of saving the King's Ships; I don't say all, the *Indian*, one of the finest, being cast away on the Coast of *Pegu*, where the Crews fell sick. None of the Ships got off safe, except that which separated from the rest, in order to go and carry Fathers *Tachard* and *de la Breuille* to *Merguy*, a Town in *Siam*. So heavy a Calamity strongly affected many in the Fleet, and contributed to lead 'em into the Paths of Salvation. The Squadron, tho' it has lost one Ship, is now in good Condition.

In a few Days we shall take Possession of *Pondicherry*. God grant I may continue there no longer time than will be sufficient for me to get some little Insight into the Language of the Country, which will be of the greatest Advantage to my favourite Mission at *Madura*. This Language is quite different from that spoke by the *Turks*, the *Persians*, the *Moors*, and the Inhabitants of *Bengal*, all which I have already learnt. The *Persian* and *Moorish* Languages will be of vast Service to me; there being a greater Number of *Mahommedans* dispersed up and down the Inland Countries; and the *Portuguese* Tongue will likewise be of Use, as it will enable

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me to converse with our Fathers born in that Country.

I am, with great Respect,

Reverend Father,

Your most humble and most obedient
Servant, MARTIN.

Father MAUDUIT, to Father LE GOBIEN.

Pouleour, in the East Indies,
Sept. 29. 1700.

Reverend Father,

I Had the Consolation to receive two of your Letters, the first of which I answered above a Year since; and will now answer the second sent me from *Pondicherry*, where his Majesty's Ships have been happily arrived a few Days.

I went to *Pondicherry*, sometime after the Departure of those Ships, with the Design of devoting myself intirely to the painful and laborious Mission of *Madura*; and accordingly joined with Father *Bouchet*, who, for several Years, has laboured in it with wonderful Success.

I set out from *Pondicherry*, the 21st of *September* 1699, in order to go to the little Mountain not far from *St. Thomas's* †. I went thither with the Design of learning the Language perfectly; and to enquire after Places where we might settle our new Mission, &c. I continued but two Months there, and afterwards returned to *Pondicherry*, from whence I went in the Habit of a *Sanias* ‖ to *Couttour*, where the Mission of *Madura* was first settled. In

† Otherwise called *Meliapour*.

‖ A Name given to the Friars or Religious in *India*.

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9

the Beginning of *June* 1700, I went towards *Cangivaron*, a Town to the North of *Pondicherry*, and there immediately began my spiritual Labours.

I must observe, that it is absolutely necessary the Missionaries should lead a Life of the greatest Mortification, in order to win over the Heathens, who would shew no Regard to the Law of the true God, nor to the Preachers of it, were these to live with less Austerity than their Bramins and Sanias.

I am, &c. MAUDUIT.

N. B. *The next Letter (from Father Dolu to Father le Gobien) being to the same Purpose as the former, is therefore omitted.*

Father BOUCHET, to Father LE GOBIEN.

Reverend Father, *Madura, Dec. 1. 1700.*

OUR Mission at *Madura* is in a more flourishing State than ever. We have suffered four violent Persecutions this Year. One of our Missionaries had four of his Teeth beat out; and I am now at the Prince's Court *, to solicit for the Liberty of Father *Borgbese*, of the Family of Prince *Borgbese* in *Rome*; that Father having been confined forty Days in the Prison of *Ticherapali* †. You have often heard, that the Missionaries of *Madura* eat neither Meat, Fish, nor Eggs; and that they never drink Wine or other strong Liquors, but live in wretched Huts covered with Straw, having not so much as a Bed, a Chair, or Piece of Furniture of any Kind; and they are forced to take their Food, without either Table, Napkin, Knife, Fork or

* The King or Naique of this Country. The Natives possess the Inland Parts; but the Coasts have been long possessed by the *Moors*, *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, &c. *Madura* is not fruitful, and famous only for the Pearl Fishery, by which the *Dutch* reap the greatest Advantage.

† The City in which the King of *Madura* resides.

Spoon.

Spoon. But this is nothing to the Sufferings they undergo.

I am, &c. J. V. BOUCHET.

Father DUISSE to the Director of the French Missions established in China, &c.

Reverend Father, Surat, Jan. 28. 1701.

I Some time since did myself the Honour to write, to inform you of the great Advantages which would accrue to our holy Religion, in case a new Mission was settled in the Western Provinces of the *Mogul's* Empire. But lest you should not have received the Letters I sent you by Land, I will here give you an Abstract of what I then wrote.

Tho' the *Mahomedan* Religion is the established one in the Great *Mogul's* Court, and all this Prince's Officers profess that Religion, nevertheless most of the People are Idolaters; insomuch that there may be two or three hundred Heathens to one *Mahomedan*. The greatest Part of these People are governed by *Rajas*, who recognize the *Mogul* for their Sovereign; and are upon much the same Foot, in *Indostan*, as the Dukes of *Guyenne*, *Britany* and *Normandy* were formerly in *France*.

It would be easy to establish Missions in the Territories of these several *Rajas*, and gather an abundant Harvest. This Country, which extends from the Mouth of the great River *Indus*, as far as towards *Cabul*, would be, in my Opinion, the fittest Place to begin that important Work. I have been assured, that in the Mountains which separate *Persia* from the *Mogul's* Empire, there were Christians who used to stamp, with a hot Iron, the Figure of a Cross on their Bodies. In all Probability these
Christians

Christians are but nominally such; and are distinguished (as Christians) from the *Mahommedans* and Heathens, only by that exterior Mark; yet this might be of Use to make them embrace a Religion, which, 'tis very probable, was anciently professed in their Country.

In these Mountains are also whole Colonies of those ancient *Persians* called *Gavers* * in *Persia*, and *Persees* † in *Surat*, and the Parts adjacent, where
great

* They are commonly called *Gaures*, as in *English*. This Word is originally *Hebrew*, and signifies, to wander, to travel, and figuratively, to deviate from the Truth.

† According to *d'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. Paris 1697*, under the Article *PARSI*, (by which a *Persee* is meant) *Parfi*, which properly signifies a *Persian* in general, now implies only an ancient *Persian*, an *Idolater*, who is a professed *Worshipper of Fire*. The greatest Part of these *Persees* withdrew into *India*, after *Sha Abbas* had demolished all the ancient Temples of *Fire*, preserved by them in the Mountain called *Alvend*. However, there is now a Sort of Suburbs called *Ghebr*, or *Ghiaour*, at *Ispahan*, inhabited by several of these *Persees*.—To this I shall add, That Mention is likewise made of these *Persees*, by the famous *Pietro della Valle*, in his *Viaggi*, Part I. Page 42, 43. *Roma 1658*, 4to: Who tells us, “ That the Natives of *Persia* are of various Kinds; “ and to begin, (says he) by the lowest, the *Gaures* or Heathens; “ these, according to some, still worship the *Fire*, they keeping “ it in with extreme Care. . . All I shall now say of them is, “ that they are the Descendants of the true ancient *Persians*, “ from the Time of *Alexander the Great*; but being persecuted by various Nations who govern that Country, they “ are reduced to a very small Number, and are found only in “ three or four Cities, of which *Ispahan* is one, where they live “ in a separate District.” His Words are these. *I naturali di Persia, sono anche di più forti; cioè, per cominciar da gl' infimi, i Gauri, ouero Infedeli; E vogliono alcuni, che infn' hoggi adorino il fuoco, Perche lo conseruano, e custodiscono con gran diligenza. . . Son le reliquie de i veri Persiani antichi, fin dal tempo di Alessandro: Ma hoggidì perseguitati da diverse nationi, che hanno dominato nel Paese, son ridotti a pochissimi; E ce ne è solo in trè ò quattro città di Persia, una delle quali è Sphabàn; doue hanno luogo a parte.* This Part of *de la Valle's Voyage* was writ in 1617. *Tavernier* also mention the *Gaures* or *Persees*. We are told that there is the following Distinction between the *Gaures* and the *Persians*. The former are ugly, tawny, and of a different
Mein

great Numbers of them are settled. The People in question, who seem to have a Kindness for us, always

Mein from the *Persians*; they are all Artificers, and marry none but Women of their own Nation and Sect; whereas most of the *Persians* are born of *Georgians*, who are the loveliest Women in the World. *Olearius* likewise speaks of them, *Tom. II.* of his Voyages. But, the most extensive, and I believe, the most authentic Account of these *Persees*, is given by the Reverend Mr. *Henry Lord*, Chaplain to the *East India Company* in *Surat*. This Book, which is now scarce, was printed at *London* in 1630. I have perused it, and find that their Book of Scriptures is called *Zundavastaw* *. [* According to Dr. *Hyde*, this signifies, *an Instrument to strike Fire with*, intimating that the Design of this Book was to kindle and excite Piety.] Mr. *Lord* tells us, that the *Persees* are a People descended from the ancient *Persians*, in Times not long after the Flood, and governed by their own Kings, till the Reign of *Yesdegerd* (above a thousand Years since) when they were subdued by the *Mahommedans*. Being persecuted, they fled away in seven Junks, to *India*, where they were received by the *Banian Rajas*, to whom they submitted, upon Condition of being permitted to follow their own Law and Religion. Most of the Posterity of these *Persees* being assigned to Husbandry, forgot the Country from whence they came, and their Religion; but being afterwards found by the Remains of their Sect living in *Persia*, they were told by them the several Particulars they had lost. Their Opinion, with regard to the Creation is as follows: That God, the Creator of all Things, divided this great Work into a sixfold Labour. First, he made the Heavens with their Orbs; the Sun, Moon and Stars and Angels; and this Heaven was designed for the Habitation of the Blest. The second Labour was the making of Hell, in the lower Part of the World, whence he banished all Light and Comfort, and that was to be the Place of the Torment of the Wicked. About this Time, *Lucifer*, the chief Angel, and others, conspiring against God, in order to gain the Sovereignty, were thrown, by the Creator, into Hell. Then God form'd the Earth and Sea, his third Labour. His fourth was to make the Trees, Plants and Herbs; and his fifth, the making Creatures to replenish the Earth and Waters, as Beasts, Birds and Fishes. The last Labour of the Creation was that of Man and Woman, whom he called *Adamah* and *Evah*, to whom all the rest of the Creatures were to be subject. 'Tis to be observed, that God rested five Days between every Labour. *Lucifer* then endeavoured, in Opposition to God, to tempt Man to Wickedness, which the Creator perceiving, he appointed certain Inspectors over his several Creatures, to preserve 'em from the evil Spirit. Mankind
growing

ways bore great Aversion to the *Mabommedan* Tenets ; infomuch that those who live in *Persia*, having been strongly

growing very wicked, most of them were destroyed by a Flood, a few being preserved ; and the Posterity of these peopled the Earth. These *Persees*, (according to *Mirkand* their Historiographer) in Times not long distant from the Flood, had a Race of Kings by whom they were governed during above a thousand Years, the last Monarch being *Yesdegerd* abovementioned. The Religion of these *Persees*, was that received in the Reign of *Gustasph*, their sixteenth King before *Yesdegerd*, whom they compute their forty-fifth Monarch. Their Legislator was named *Zertoost*, [This must be *Zoroaster*. i. e. the Friend to Fire.] He was born in *China*, his Father being called *Espintaman*, and his Mother *Dodoo*. This Woman conceiving, had a dreadful Vision ; she fancying that the Heavens were all on Fire over her Head ; when suddenly four horrid Griffins rushing in, tore the Child she was pregnant with out of her Womb ; but a Person of a goodly Aspect coming forward, drove away the Griffins, and recovering the Child returned it to the Womb unhurt, after which the Mother awak'd in great Terror. Afterwards acquainting her Husband with this Vision, they went together to a Soothsayer, and informing him of what had past, he interpreted the Vision, saying, among other Particulars, that by the Fire some Revelation was signified, which should enlighten the World. The Child being born, and the strange Things related concerning him, the King of *China*, fearing that he would deprive him of his Dominions, sent certain Persons to destroy *Zertoost* ; but these failing in their Design, *Zertoost's* Parents, at his Request, retired to *Persia*, where they all arrived safe in the Reign of *Gustasph* above mentioned ; his Parents applying themselves to Business, in order to support themselves, and *Zertoost* to the Service of God and Religion. The latter going one Day into the Fields, and reflecting on the Wickedness of Men, considered that it was partly owing to the Evil Arts of *Lucifer*, and partly to the want Men were in of wholesome Laws. *Zertoost* travelling on, and beseeching God to favour him with some Revelation, an Angel came and waisted him into God's Presence, where the Book of the Law was delivered to him ; he first seeing, in a Vision, the State of all Things, past, present, and to come ; and after receiving the heavenly Fire also, which he held in his Right Hand, the Angel brought him back again to the Earth. *Zertoost* was then met by *Lucifer*, who tempted him, but to no Purpose. The former then proceeded to the City, where King *Gustasph* had his Residence, where he was received with the utmost Joy by his Parents, to whom he related all he had met with ; and these Particulars coming to the Monarch's Ear,

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strongly sollicitated by the *Sopbi* within these two or three Years, to turn *Mahomedans*, they earnestly besought

Ear, he sent for him, and became almost a Profelyte to his new Religion. But now the Chief Priest, afraid that this Innovation would lose him the King's Favour, conspired against *Zertoost*, who thereupon was thrown into Prison. However, his Innocence being afterwards discover'd, he was set at Liberty, and restored to *Gustasp's* Favour, who then became his Convert. The Book which God delivered to *Zertoost* consisted of three Tracts, the first treating of Judicial Astrology, the second of Physic, or the natural Causes of Things, and the third, (called *Zertoost*, from their Legisslator) contained all the Precepts relating to Religion. The Use of the first being unlawful, and the Knowledge of the latter now unnecessary, notice is taken only of the third Tract, being the Book of their Law. This Law related to three Sorts of Men, to the Laity, the Clergy, and the High Priest. As the Laity, or *Behedin*, by secular Occasions, had less Opportunity of devoting themselves to Religion, God gave only five Commandments to them. The first advises their having always Shame before their Eyes; the second, Fear; the third, to consider whether the Action they are going to commit be good or bad; the fourth that every Creature they first see in the Morning be made a Monitor to them; that in Praying, in the Morning they turn their Faces to the Sun, and, at Night, towards the Moon. To the Clergy, (called *Daroo* or *Herbood*) belong the eleven Precepts following; they being obliged also to observe strictly the five directed to the Laity. I. To know in what Manner to pray to God. II. To keep their Eyes from coveting other Men's Goods. III. To take Care always to speak Truth. IV. To confine themselves wholly to their own Business. V. To learn the *Zundavastaw* by Heart. VI. To keep themselves pure and undefiled from all Things that pollute. VII. To forgive all Injuries. VIII. To teach the vulgar to pray. IX. To give License, and to marry People. X. To spend most of their Time in the Temple. XI. To believe, upon Pain of Damnation, in no other Law than that of *Zertoost*. The High Priest or *Disfoore*, besides the strict Observance of the sixteen Precepts abovementioned, is also enjoined the following, I. Not to touch any Thing belonging to a strange Cast or Sect, of what Religion soever; nor any Layman of his own Religion. II. To do all Things belonging to himself with his own Hands. III. To take the Tythe or Tenth of the Laity. IV. Not to use any Pomp or Superfluity, but to employ his whole Revenue in good Uses. V. To reside near the Temple, and continue in Prayer and Abstinence. VI. To be purer than others. VII. His Knowledge must extend to every Part of the *Zundavastaw*.

besought him to let them embrace the Christian Faith.

'Tis

vassaw. VIII. Never to eat or drink to Excess. IX. To fear no one but God, and nothing but Sin. X. To correct every Man, how great soever, for his Sins. XI. To be able to discern in what Manner both God and *Lucifer* reveal themselves, and to discern between Good and Evil. XII. Never to reveal God's Secrets. XIII. To keep an ever-living Fire, and say his Prayers over it. The next Particular concluding this Tract, relates to the Rites and Ceremonies of this Sect. First, touching the Liberty (which is great) allowed in Meats and Drinks. Secondly, For the Festivals enjoyned by their Laws. There are six of these in the Year, and each continues five Days together, according to the six Days of Creation. Thirdly, concerning their Fasts; they observing a five Days Abstinence after every Feast, in Memory that the Lord rested five Days after every one of his Labours. The next Particular is their Worship of Fire, by which their Religion is most remarkably distinguished from that of other Sects. With regard to the Quality of the Fire, the first brought from Heaven by *Zertoost*, was a living Fire that nothing could extinguish. There being a Defect of this, they are allowed to compose a Fire of various Mixtures, to be kept living, and to which they are to perform their Worship. This Fire may consist either of the Sparks flying from the Flint struck with a Steel, or that made by the Rubbing of two Sticks together; of Fire made by Lightning falling on something apt to burn; of wild Fire; of artificial Fire made by Coal or Wood; of the Fire with which the *Banians* use to burn the Bodies of their Dead; Lastly, of the Fire made by Burning Glasses and the Sun Beams; of all which Ingredients they compose their idolatrous Fire, called *Antisbeheraun*, or Religious Fire. Great Ceremonies are observed in the Worship of it. The *Disfloore*, *Herbood*, and Assembly encompassing the Fire, at about eleven or twelve Foot Distance, one of the two first, speaks as follows: "That forasmuch as Fire was delivered to *Zertoost* their Law-giver, from Almighty God, who pronounced it to be his Virtue and Excellence; and that there was a Law delivered for the Worship of this Fire, confirmed by so many Miracles; they therefore should look upon it as holy; should reverence and worship it as a Part of God, who is of the same Substance; and should love all Things that resemble it, or are like to it, as the Sun and Moon (*this shows what Sort of Astronomers the Persees are*) which proceeded from it, and are God's two Witnesses against him, should they neglect the Religion and Worship so enjoyn'd; as likewise to pray to God, that he would forgive them, if, in the ordinary Uses of this

" Element,

'Tis plain, Reverend Father, that the Harvest is plentiful in these wide-extended Countries ; but to gather

“ Element, so serviceable to Man’s Need, they should either
 “ spill Water, which might in some Manner quench it, or spit
 “ in it unawares ; or put such Fewel to it to keep it burning,
 “ as was impure, and unworthy of that Holiness which was in this
 “ Element ; or whatsoever Abuses else they should do, as they
 “ used it in the necessary Services of their Life.” With respect
 to Baptism of Children, the *Daroo* pitching upon a Name, the
 Mother pronounces it, in the House of the Parents. The Child
 is afterwards carried to the *Eggaree*, or Temple, where the *Daroo*
 pours Water into the Child, and beseeches God to cleanse it
 from all Pollution. At seven Years of Age, the Child is carried
 by his Parents to the Temple, where the *Daroo* instructs him in
 Religion, puts a Linen Cassock upon him, and gives him a
 Girdle of Camel’s Hair ; and praying that he may adhere sted-
 fastly to their Religion, he then is look’d upon as a confirm’d
Persee. As to their Marriages, these are of five Kinds or Clas-
 ses, and distinguished by several Names. The *Persees* think that
 Marriage conduces to the obtaining eternal Happiness in the next
 World. The Ceremony of Marriage is as follows : The Parties
 meeting at some House about Midnight, are set upon a Bed,
 when two *Daroos*, (one in behalf of the Bridegroom, the other
 of the Bride) ask the several Parties whether they are desirous
 of being married ; and Answer being made in the Affirmative,
 the *Daroos* join their Hands, and scattering Rice (an Emblem of
 Fertility) over them, pray that they may be fruitful, and en-
 joy every Happiness. The Nuptial Feast is kept afterwards for
 eight Days, and then the Company are dismissed, the Bride’s
 Parents first giving her a Dowry. In the Burial of their Dead,
 two Things are remarkable. First, the Place, and secondly,
 the Ceremonies used. As to the Place, two large round Tombs
 are built, in the Middle of which the Bones are laid ; and, about
 the Walls lie the shrouded Carcases. One of these Tombs is for
 the Bones of the Good, the other for those of the Wicked.
 When a Person is to be buried, the *Daroo* does not come within
 ten Foot of him ; but appointing the Bearers to carry him in an
 Iron Bier (for Wood must not be used, because it is Fewel to Fire)
 all move along in Silence. Being come to the Sepulchre, the
Daroo speaks thus : “ This our Brother, whilst he lived, con-
 “ sisted of the four Elements ; now he is dead, let each take his
 “ own, Earth to Earth, Air to Air, Water to Water, and Fire
 “ to Fire.” They then pray, that the Devils may not be per-
 mitted to annoy their deceased Brother, when he shall repair to
 he holy Fire to purge himself ; they supposing that the Soul
 wanders upon Earth for three Days, and afterwards is rewarded
 or

gather it in, two Things are wanting, first a Set of learned and virtuous Missionaries ; and secondly, a Fund sufficient for their Maintenance. The Persons who shall be employed in this new Mission, must not only be inflamed with the brightest Zeal, and inspired by the purest Virtue ; but they also must be endued with such Abilities as may enable them to root out the Errors which have so long prevailed among this People, and to inspire 'em with a high Idea of our Religion. If these Impressions are, in the Beginning, strong and lively ; and suitable, in some Measure, to the Sublimity of our Mysteries, I am persuaded it will never be erased, but secure the Salvation of that People. On the contrary, if the Impression be slight and superficial, their Faith and their Religion will be the same ; by which Means little or nothing will be done.

We may justly hope the most happy Effects with regard to the Christian Religion, when once the spacious Country of *Indostan* shall be divided between the Children of *Aurengzebe*, who has so long sway'd the Sceptre. 'Tis not doubted but these Princes will countenance the Missionaries, and protect 'em openly in all the Provinces ; especially if they should be settled there at *Aurengzebe's* Death. Prince *Shalem* *, his eldest Son, has always shown great Kindness

or punished, and goes to Heaven or Hell. For this Reason, they assemble during three Days together, at Morning, Noon and Evening, to deprecate all Evils from the Deceased ; and then making a Festival on the fourth Day the Mourning ends.

As this Subject is very curious ; and as Mr. *Lord's* Treatise upon it is scarce, and a faithful Epitome of it is given here, 'tis presumed the learned Reader will not be displeased with it. According to Dr. *Hyde*, in his *Historia religionis veterum Persarum*, this Fire-Worship was the third State of the Religion of the ancient *Persians* ; He adds, that they, when in its first Estate, worshipped the true God only ; and, in the second, Stars and Idols.

* He is called *Cha Alem*, in *English*. The famous *Aurengzebe* left three Sons at his Death, *Cha Alem*, *Azem Dara*, and *Chan Bux*,

ness to such of our *Portuguese* Fathers as reside in *Agra*. He even invited lately to *Cabul*, where he now is, at the Head of a considerable Army, Father *Magallens*, formerly a Missionary at *Delly* and *Agra*; and has ordered the Governors and Officers in the several Places through which the Father in question will pass, to furnish him with the Necessaries requisite for his Journey. 'Tis thought that the Motive of his inviting him to his Court is, for him to superintend the Christians who are in his Service.

I am, &c.

DIUSSE.

*Father PELISSON, to Father DE LA CHAIZE,
Confessor to his Majesty.*

Most reverend Father, Canton, Dec. 9. 1700.

THE Emperor of *China*, not only gave the *French* Jesuits a House within his Palace, but granted them, some Time after, a large Piece of Ground adjoining to their House, for them to build a Church upon; he himself promising to contribute towards the Work. The 26th of *January* 1700, Father *Gerbillon* going to the Palace, desired the chief Eunuch of the Bed-chamber to inform the Emperor, that the Jesuits were preparing to raise a Church on the Spot allotted by his Majesty; for which Reason they humbly besought him, to remember the Promise he had been pleased to make, of contributing towards it; an Honour they should for ever remember. The Emperor not only granted this and other Favours, but likewise commanded one of the Mandarins of his Palace to superintend

Bax, who all fought for the Empire after their Father's Decease, which happened *March* 4, 1708. After various Battles, this *Cha Alem*, who stil'd himself *Badour Cha*, got Possession of the whole Empire in 1708.

the

the Edifice; to show the whole Court, that his Majesty had the Interest of this Church at Heart. 'Tis now almost finished. When the Emperor was petitioned by the Fathers for Leave to build it, he answered, That as the raising a Church to the true God was a holy Thing, he therefore was resolved to contribute to it, in honour to their Religion and their Persons; and would give Orders for furnishing the several Materials necessary. In one of the Visits which the Jesuits made in a Body, to the Emperor at *Peking*, he gave each of them two Pieces of Silk, and Silver to the Value of two hundred and fifty Livres. We have now three Houses in the above-mentioned City.

A cruel Persecution broke out, this Year, in † *Cochin-China*. Here follows an Extract of the Relation of it, written by Father *John Anthony Arnedo*, a *Spanish* Jesuit. His Letter is dated from *Sinoa* *, the Capital of that Kingdom ‖, July 31, 1700.

This Persecution broke out the 14th of May 1698. The King, who is but young, and extremely superstitious, is wholly devoted to the *Chineze* Bonzes, or Idol-Priests, whom he invited into his Kingdom. He has two Uncles; and these he consults on all Occasions. One of them, who has the greatest Ascendent over him, is a professed Enemy to our Religion. Several of our Churches were pulled down; and the Persecution would probably have raged still more, had not a furious Storm made

† A Kingdom between *Tonquin* and *Siam*.

* I believe 'tis called in *English*, *Sinuwa*.

‖ The Natives call it *Anam*, or the West Country, it lying to the West of *China*. The *Cochin-Chineze* are said to resemble the *Chineze* in Stature, Feature and Complexion, but wear their Hair long; and they eat and drink like the *Tonquineze*. The King's Court is kept in the Province of *Sinuwa*, on the Frontiers of *Tonquin*. What some Jesuits say, with regard to this People's excelling in Arts and Sciences, and particularly their great Skill in Gunnery, is, I believe, not to be much depended upon.

dreadful Havock, and obliged the Idolaters to employ themselves wholly in repairing the Damages caused by it : Not to mention that I then foretold an Eclipse in such a Manner as seem'd to please the Court; upon which I was left in Possession of my Church and the Missionaries met with gentle Treatment.

The Royal Year (every twelfth) came about soon after. As the People are allowed, during that Year, a very great Liberty, the Christians enjoyed it in common with them ; so that we then performed the several Exercises of our Religion in as publick a Manner as we had done before the Persecution. In the Beginning of 1700, some Thieves, or rather some Enemies to the Christians, in Hopes of bringing them into Trouble, pull'd down and broke to Pieces the Idols dispersed about the Countries. The King accused the Christians of this Action, not doubting but they were really the Authors of it. He was told, at the same Time, that our Churches were very much crowded on *Ass-Wednesday* ; whereupon he gave Orders to massacre all the Christians the first Time they should assemble ; but I hearing of this the sixth of *March*, prevented their Meeting.

There were then five *European* Missionaries in that City. The 12th of *March* the Idolaters came, arm'd, into our Churches, seized our Servants, plundered our Houses of every Thing they could lay Hands on, and confined the several Missionaries to their Churches. Four of them at that Time in the City, were carried to the State-Prisons ; and the † *Conga* was put about the Necks of three. I myself being seized, was set at Liberty the next Day, as being a Mathematician.

The 17th, the Prince's Edict was published, commanding all the Christian Churches in the Kingdom to be pull'd down. It likewise enacted, that

† The *Conga* is an Instrument made of two very heavy Boards, cut circular in the Middle ; and, being joined, fasten the Neck in the

the several Books relating to our Religion should be burnt, and all the Missionaries seiz'd; that those who had embraced the Christian Faith, should return to the established Religion of the Country; and that, as a Testimony of Obedience, all Persons in general, both Christians and Idolaters, Men and Women, young and old, should trample under Foot the Image of our Saviour, the principal one we set up on the Altar in our Churches, in Sight of the whole Congregation. This Order was immediately executed in the Palace, in the Houses of the Mandarins *, and in the Streets and Places of publick Resort in this City. We had the Grief to see the blessed Image trodden under Foot by many unworthy Christians; whilst others hid themselves to prevent their being forced to it; but a third Sort generously refusing to comply with the King's Orders, received the Crown of Martyrdom. Most of the holy Books were burnt that Day; but all were restored, with several others, which were thought to belong to me; the Idolaters saying, that those Books might be of Service in the Mathematicks. By this means I sav'd a Mass-Book, and the Life of Christ represented in Copper-Plates, which is of great Use, in order to give this ignorant People an Idea of our Saviour's Miracles.

The King had commanded, that whatever belonged to the Christians, should be given as Plunder to the Soldiers; such Things excepted as we look'd upon as holy, which he ordered to be brought to him. Many Relicks (some being intire Bones) among other Things, were carried to him; when taking 'em in his Hands, and showing 'em to his Courtiers; *See, says he, How impious the Christians are! They don't even scruple to take the Bones of the Dead out of their Graves, a Circumstance*

* Possibly by this may be meant their Courtiers or great Men. The Jesuit may call 'em so, as this People resemble the *Chineze* in many Things, and perhaps in their Government, &c.

which must surely strike every Man with Horror. But this is not all; for having pounded 'em, they put 'em into Drinks, or make a Kind of Bread with 'em, which they give to the People; and thereby bewitch them to such a Degree, that they run blindly after them, and embrace their Doctrine. The King perceiving that this Discourse animated the whole Court with Fury against us, ordered the Bones in question to be brought into the Place of publick Resort; and bid the People be told the Uses which (he said) we put 'em to. Hence all the Missionaries conclude, that 'tis not yet a fit Time to expose such Things in this Country; nor to set 'em before the People, in order to draw their Veneration, lest, as the Gospel says, this should be casting Pearls before Swine.

Three Women of Distinction being brought before the King, he gave Orders that they should be bastinadoed, shaved, and the Tips of their Ears and Fingers cut off; and all such of his male Subjects as refused to obey, he sentenced to die, and most of them of Hunger. The Prisoners were confined in a Hut, enclosed with thick Stakes, cover'd with Branches of Trees, eight Foot long, and six wide. After they were dead, their Bodies were tore to Pieces and cast into the River, by the Monarch's Order, to prevent the Remains of them from being preserved. The 20th of *May* the *Chinese* Vessels arrived, bringing the Missionaries their small Pensions from *Canton*. The Mandarins did all that lay in their Power to discover whether some Supply was not brought the Fathers; but the *Chinese* Captain play'd his Part so well, that he eluded all their Vigilance, and put into my Hands whatever had been delivered to him for me, which has been of no little Service to all the imprisoned Christians.

Four of our Brethren are still confined; but I myself live in a little Garden which was given me, standing near the Palace. As I bear the Title of
Ma-

Mathematician, I am allowed to go freely whithersoever I please; to visit the Prisoners, and say Mass every Day. Several of the Missionaries have concealed themselves in the Islands, or in the Mountains*.

Such, Reverend Father, is an Extract of Father *Arnedo's* Relation.

I am, &c. PELISSON.

Father PAUL CLAIN, to Father THYR. GONZALEZ, General of the Jesuits.

Relating to the Discovery of thirty two Islands to the South of the Ladrone Islands.

Reverend Father, Manila, June 10. 1697.

After the setting Sail of the Ship, on board of which I sent the Letters I wrote to you, another Vessel arrived, and brought an Order for me to accompany the Reverend Father *Antonio Fuccio*, a *Sicilian*, the new Provincial of this Province. In making the Visitation of our Houses with him, I went over *Los Pintados*†. These are large Islands separated from one another by several Arms of the Sea; the Ebbing and Flowing of which makes

* According to *Dampier*, 'tis a Custom here, and in the neighbouring Countries, for the Natives to bring their Women on board, and offer 'em to the Sailors. Our *East India* Company erected a Fort in the Island of *Condore*, in the Neighbourhood of *Cochin-China*, but did not keep Possession of it above two or three Years; the Settlement being destroyed by the Natives in 1703, and many of the *English* murdered in their Beds. The best Account we have had concerning *Cochin-China*, is from our Countrymen since their fatal Settlement in *Condore*. There are several of these Islands (all of them being small) lying together, and they are called *Pulo Condore*, or the Islands of *Condore*.

† Part of the *Philippines*, so called, from the Inhabitants painting themselves, of whom many are found to this Day. They are the *Pis*, as it were, of those Countries.

24 TRAVELS of the JESUITS.

Sailing in those Parts difficult and dangerous. In these Islands are seventy seven Thousand Christians, under the Spiritual Direction of forty one Jesuit Missionaries; and with them are two of our Brothers, who take Care of their Subsistence.

Not far from the *Ladron Islands*, are others called *Pais* †, the Inhabitants of which have no Correspondence with those of the *Ladrones*. This new Country † was discovered last Year, and in Manner following.

In

† It appears afterwards, that these Islands in general are called *Palao*s; and that one of them only is called *Pais* or *Paes*.

† The Discovery of these Islands was thought so curious and important, that the Royal Society judg'd it worthy of a Place in their Transactions; and accordingly it has been introduced in two of them. Nevertheless, many Persons are still in doubt concerning the Reality of those Islands; at least they imagine, that the Discovery has been greatly heightened, and embellished *à la Jesuite*. To support their Opinion, they object, among other Things, That as *Dampier* visited those Seas very carefully, 'tis surprizing he should never fall in with any of these Islands. Mr. *Salmon* in his very useful and entertaining Work, entitled *Modern History*, Vol. 1. Pag. 130, London printed 1739, 4to, makes several Objections to the pretended Discovery of these Islands, which seem of Weight. His Words are these: " By Father *le Gobien*'s Map of these Islands, which is inserted in the Philosophical Transactions *, they appear to lie in the Eastern Seas, almost in Form of a Crescent or great Arch: But this Map seems to be rather drawn by the Strength of Imagination, than any certain Discoveries that can be depended on; for he tells us, it was not made by *Europeans*, none having ever sailed that Way ||; but some of the Islanders, who were cast ashore

" on

* I am to observe, that there are three more Relations concerning these Islands, which will be given in the Sequel of this Work.

|| Mr. *Salmon* seems to have read this Account only in the Philosophical Transactions (which I myself have not by me) and not in the Original, written by Father *Clain*, and published by Father *le Gobien*. It being there observed, that one of these Islands was discovered in 1686, by a *Philippine* Ship; and that it is called by some *Caroline* Island, and *St. Barnabas's* Island by others. And likewise, that this Island was seen by another Ship in 1696. The Reader will meet with these Particulars, about the Middle of the present Letter of Father *Clain*.

In the Course of our Visitation, as was observed
above,

“ on the *Philippines*, ranged some little Stones upon a Table,
“ in such a Manner as these Islands are laid down in his Map;
“ but as he has made 'em to extend from two Degrees South La-
“ titude to seventeen North, and as far East and West, I do not
“ see how it is possible illiterate People, who are perfectly igno-
“ rant of the Mathematicks, and the Frame of the Globe,
“ should be able to describe the Situation of them. There is this
“ farther Objection against the Account given of these Islands,
“ that in some Instances it contradicts itself: For we are told in
“ one Part of it, that these Islanders had been driven seventy
“ Days before the Wind *, when they were cast ashore on the
“ *Philippines*; which, at a hundred Miles a Day (and this is
“ but moderate sailing with a brisk Ga'e) must make 'em seventy
“ hundred Miles distant from the *Old Philippines*; and yet it is
“ said the People of the *Philippines* can see the Smoke of their
“ Fires from their Coasts; from whence, either we must con-
“ clude that these Islands are not so far from the *Old Philippines*
“ as is pretended, or that those People have a much better Eye-
“ sight than the Inhabitants on this Side the Globe; not that I
“ would infer from hence, that this Relation is to be intirely
“ discredited, or that there are no Lands or Islands to the East-
“ ward of the *Philippines*. Probably there are many that are
“ not yet discovered, or will be some hundred Years hence; but
“ I think the *Spaniards* have been a little too hasty in describing
“ their Situation and Extent, before they have ever been visited
“ by any one Man who is capable of giving a Description of
“ them.” From these last Words of Mr. *Salmon*, one wou'd con-
clude, that he had never perused the XI. Volume of the *Lettres*
edifiantes

* The Original says, *Ils voguerent ainsi au gré des vents pen-
dant soixante & dix jours*, i. e. “ They were thus carried along
“ (at the Mercy of the Winds) during seventy Days;” which
might mean, that they were drove backwards and forwards, and
consequently, Mr. *Salmon*'s Objection would not take Place.
But as Father *le Clain* says, that they came directly from the East
Westward, and that *le Gobien* observes in the second Relation of
this Discovery (in the Dedication of the VI. Volume, to the Je-
suits of *France*, that, *le vent les pouffoit vers l'occident*, i. e. “ the
“ Wind drove them Westward;” Mr. *Salmon*'s Objection must
stand good. Upon the whole, the Force of the Objection seems
to lie, not so much against Father *le Clain*'s Relation, as against
Father *le Gobien*'s Observations on it, who was too credulous, as
the Reader will find in the Sequel of this Work, where the last
mentioned Father believes what the *Palaos* related, concerning
one of their Islands being inhabited only by *Amazons*.

above, we arrived at the little Town of *Guiguan* *,
in

edifiantes & curieuses ; we there finding the Journal of a Voyage said to be made in 1710, to those Islands, written by *Joseph Somera*, a *Spanish* Pilot. This Journal does not seem to contain improbable Particulars, any more than that of *Father le Clain* ; and as *Father le Gobien*, who was not upon the Spot, is the only Writer that has embarrassed the Account of this Discovery, by his Flourishes, this Reflection will possibly lessen the Force of *Mr. Salmon's* Objections, which, so far as *Father le Gobien* has any Concern in this Relation, seem exceedingly well grounded. I myself have met with Gentlemen, who absolutely doubt the Existence of these *Palaos* ; but I cannot agree with them, tho' no one would be more guarded than myself, against many Particulars told us by the Jesuits, especially those relating to Religion. To consider the *cui bono* of this Affair ; I mean the Advantage it could be to the Fathers to have forged these Islands. What Benefit could they propose to reap by it, unless they expected to have had a Ship richly freighted, fitted out purposely to convey them ; and that when thus furnished, they had resolved to run away with it. But this, I presume, can hardly be supposed with any Shadow of Probability. 'Tis related in Vol. VI. of the *Lettres edifiantes & curieuses*, that the Jesuits in the *Philippines*, having sent out a Ship to go upon the Discovery of these Islands, it was lost at Sea. That afterwards these Jesuits deputed two Fathers, *Andrew Serrano*, and *Dominic Medel*, to *Pope Clement* and the King of *Spain*, to engage them to promote the Conversion of the *Palaos*. *Father Serrano* (according to the Relation in question) waited upon the Pope, and gave him an Account of the last mentioned People, which pleased him so well, that he put into this Jesuit's Hands, Briefs or Letters to the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and to the Archbishops of *Mexico* and *Manila*. This was in 1705. *Father Serrano* was afterwards introduced to *Lewis XIV.* at *Versailles*, where he entertained that Monarch above two Hours, with an Account of the *New Philippines* ; was assured he might depend upon his Protection ; and then the King gave him a Letter to his Grandson of *Spain*. The *Latin* Original of these several Briefs are inserted in the VI. Volume of the *Lettres edifiantes*, &c. in which the Pope earnestly intreats their *French* and *Catholic* Majesties, with the Archbishops of *Mexico* and *Manila*, as does likewise the King of *France* the Monarch of *Spain*, to forward the Conversion of the *Palaos*, to the utmost of their Power. *Te hortamur ac rogamus, ut opus tanti momenti ad salutem animarum promoveri velis, si qua se dabit occasio*, says the Pope in his
Brief

* In *French*, *Guivam*, a Town in *Samar*, one of the *Philippines*.

in the Island of *Samar*, the last and most Southern of the Eastern *Pintados*. We there met with twenty nine *Palaos*, or Inhabitants of these newly discovered Islands. The East Winds, which blow in those Seas from *December* to *May*, had drove them three hundred Leagues from their Island, into the abovementioned Town of the Island of *Samar*. They came in two small Vessels called here *Paraos*; and they relate their Story in Manner following.

Thirty five of them having put to Sea, with the Design of sailing to a neighbouring Island, on a Sudden, so strong a Wind rose, that being unable to reach the intended Island, nor any other in the Neighbourhood of it, they were carried into the high Sea. They made several Attempts to land at some Place they were acquainted with, but to no Purpose. In this Manner they were carried along by the Winds for seventy Days, without being able

Brief to *Lewis XIV.* And in that to the King of *Spain*, after desiring this Monarch to command his Ministers to furnish the Missionaries with Ships and other Things necessary, he adds, *Quod ut facere velis, te etiam atque etiam hortamur*; and afterwards, *Itaque animarum lucri, quod nunc quoque à proposita nova professione speratur; ac proinde meriti, quod jure maximum inde sperandum est, itemque spiritualis mercedis particeps procul dubio efficieris, ac precipuus tanti boni author merito reputaberis.* These several Briefs are prefixed, as was observed above, to the VIth Volume of *Lettres edifiantes & curieuses*, printed at *Paris* in 1707, and consequently must be genuine: For which Reason, (I presume) we may conclude, that there is something more than mere Fiction in this Discovery, unless we can imagine that the Pope and the Jesuits had laid their Heads together, to impose, (and that in the grossest Manner) on the Kings of *France* and *Spain*; which indeed (were greater Advantages to have accrued to them than I am able to discover) I could very easily have supposed; but as I don't perceive any such, I am persuaded there is some Truth in these Relations. Upon the whole, I don't doubt but that certain Strangers (as related in Father *le Clair's* Letter) were cast on the *Philippines*; and that they came from Islands unknown, very possibly, to the *Europeans*; but perhaps some Part of the Accounts given by these Jesuits may be exaggerated.

to make any Shore. At last, having lost all Hopes of ever returning to their native Country; being half starv'd, and having neither Provisions or Water left, they resolved to abandon themselves to the Mercy of the Winds; and land in the first Island they should meet with Westward. The Moment after they had taken this Resolution, they came in Sight of the Town of *Guiguan*, in the Island of *Samar*. A *Guiganite*, who stood on the Sea Shore spy'd them; and judging, from the Structure of their small Vessels, that they were Foreigners who were out of their Course, he took a Piece of Linnen Cloth, and made a Signal to them to enter the Channel which he pointed out to them; in order to avoid the Banks of Sand they were going to run upon. These unhappy People were so terrified at the Sight of this Stranger, that they began to put back to Sea; but all their Endeavours for that Purpose were in vain, the Wind driving them a second Time towards the Shore. Being come near it, the *Guiganite* showed them by Signs, the Course they were to steer; but seeing they went wrong, and were going to suffer Shipwreck, he jump'd into the Sea, and swam to one of the little Vessels, in order to serve as Pilot, and bring 'em safe into Port. The Instant he came up, the People who were in it, and even the Women (with their Children in their Arms) leap'd into the Sea, and swam towards the other Vessel; so much they dreaded the Approach of the Stranger, who being left alone in the Vessel, followed them; and going on board the second, he steered clear of all the Rocks, and carried them safe to Shore. Whilst this was doing, the poor People continued motionless; and gave themselves up intirely to the Direction of this Stranger, they considering themselves as his Prisoners.

They landed on *Innocents* Day, the 28th of *December* 1696. The Inhabitants of *Guiguan*, who were

were now assembled upon the Shore, gave 'em a most charitable Reception, and brought 'em Wine and Refreshments. They fed with Pleasure on Co-coas, which is the Fruit of the Palm-tree of that Country. The Substance of it is very much like a Chestnut, except that it is more oily, and yields a Kind of sugar'd Water, very agreeable to the Taste. Some Rice boil'd in Water was given 'em; Rice being eat, in this Country, and every Part of *Asia*, as Bread in *Europe*. They beheld it with Admiration; but taking a little of it in their Fingers, they immediately threw it away, imagining it to be small Worms. However, they discovered great Joy, when the Inhabitants brought 'em some of the large Roots call'd *Palavan*, and they eat very greedily of them.

During this Interval, two Women were sent for, who, some Time before, had been cast on the Coast of *Guiguan*. Having a little Knowledge of the Language of this Country, they served as Interpreters; and 'twas by their Means we learnt the Particulars I shall mention hereafter. One of these Women found, that some of the Strangers in question were her Relations; and these, the Instant they discovered her, burst into Tears. The Jesuit who has the Direction of this little Town, hearing of the Arrival of the Strangers, sent for them to *Guiguan*. The Moment they saw the Father, and observed the Respect which was paid him, they imagined he was the King of the Country, and that their Lives were at his Disposal; for which Reason, all fell prostrate, beseeching him to take Pity on them, and spare their Lives. The Father, mov'd to Compassion at their great Distress, did all that lay in his Power to comfort 'em; he caressing their Children, three of whom were at the Breast, and five a little older; and assured their Parents that he would give them all the Assistance in his Power.

The

The Inhabitants of *Guiguan* offered the Father, with the utmost Chearfulness, to take the Strangers to their several Houses, and furnish them with all Things necessary, both as to Food and Raiment. The Father granted their Request, but upon Condition that they should not separate such as were married, nor take less than two in a House, lest such as might be left single should pine and die. There were but thirty remaining out of thirty five, which was their Number at first; five dying in the Voyage, occasioned by the Scarcity of Provisions and the Hardships they sustained. A little after their Arrival, one more, who very happily had been baptized, left the World.

They related, that their Country consisted of thirty two Islands *, which cannot be very far from the *Ladrones*, as their little Vessels are built, and their Sails are made in the same Form with those of the Inhabitants of the last mentioned Islands. 'Tis probable that these lie more to the South † than the *Ladrones*, in eleven or twelve Degrees of Northern Latitude, and under the same Parallel with *Guiguan*, since those Strangers, who steer'd directly from East Westward, came ashore at this Town. We also may suppose, that it is one of those Islands which was seen at a Distance in 1686. A Vessel belonging to the *Philippines* having gone out of the usual Course, which is from East to West, under the thirteenth Parallel; and steering a little to the South-West, spy'd it for the first Time. Some called this Island *Carolina*, from his Majesty's || Name; and others, the Island of St. *Barnabas*, it being dis-

* 'Tis said, in the second Relation of these Islands, (of which a Map will be given hereafter) that they were eighty seven in Number, and form one of the finest Archipelagos in the East.

† This Conjecture was just, if the second Map of these Islands, which we shall give hereafter, be genuine.

|| *Charles II.* King of Spain.

covered on that Saint's Day. It was seen in 1696, by another Vessel, which was drove by a Storm, out of her Course, in her Passage from hence to the *Ladrones*. The Governor of the *Philippines* had often commanded the Captain of the Ship which sails almost every Year to the *Ladrones*, to search for this and the other Islands which are supposed to lie in that Neighbourhood; but these Orders proved ineffectual; Heaven reserving to this Time the Discovery, and, as we hope, the intire Conversion of these People.

They add, that three of these thirty two Islands are inhabited only by Birds, but that the rest are exceedingly populous. When they are asked the Number of the Inhabitants, they take up a Heap of Sand or Dust, to signify the vast Number of People contained in them. The Names of these Islands are as follow: *Pais, Lamululutup, Saraon, Yaropee, Valayyay, Satavan, Cutac, Yfaluc, Pirolop, Ytai, Pic, Piga, Lamurrec, Puc, Falait, Caruwaruvong, Ylatu, Lamuliur, Tavas, Saypen, Tacaulap, Rapiyang, Tavon, Mutacusan, Piylu, Olatan, Palu, Cucumyat, Piyalucunung* †. The three inhabited only by Birds, are *Piculat, Hulutan, and Tagian*. The most considerable of all these Islands is *Lamurrec*; the King of the whole Country keeping his Court there. The Chiefs of the several Settlements are subject to him. Among these Strangers was one of the Chiefs in question, with his Wife, who is the King's Daughter. Tho' they are half naked, yet their Carriage, and a certain Air of Grandeur denotes their Birth. The Husband's Body is painted all over with Lines, which form various Figures; and the rest of the Men belonging to this Company have

† We are told, in the second Account of this Discovery, by Father *le Gobien*, that the above Names may very probably be mis-spelt, on account of the *Spaniards* mistaking the Sounds, when pronounced by the Natives.

more or less Lines drawn on their Bodies; but there are none on those of the Women or Children. There are nineteen Men, and ten Women, of different Ages. The Turn and Colour of their Faces differ but little from those of the Inhabitants of the *Philippines*. The Dress wore by the Men consists only of a Sort of Girdle which covers their Loins and Thighs, and is wound several Times round the Body. Over their Shoulders is upwards of an Ell and a half of coarse Linnen, forming a Kind of Cowl or Hood, which is tied before, and hangs carelessly behind. Both Men and Women are dressed after the same Manner, except that the Piece of Linnen the latter wear is a little longer; it descending from the Waiste to the Knee.

Their Language differs from that of the Inhabitants of the *Philippines*, and even the *Ladrones*, but their Pronunciation is very much like *Arabic*. The Woman who appears to be the most considerable Person among them, wears several Rings, and many Necklaces made of Tortoise-shell, called here *Caree*; but those of the others are of a Substance unknown to us, which resembles Ambergrease, and is not transparent.

Here follows the Manner how these People subsisted themselves, during the seventy Days they were out at Sea, expos'd to the Fury of the Winds. They us'd to throw into the Ocean a Sort of Bow-net, made of several Branches of Trees tied together *. A large Aperture was left in the Net, for the Fish to enter in at; and it terminated in a Point, to prevent their getting back again. The Fish they took in this Manner was their only Food; and they had no Drink but what Heaven sent them in Rain, which they us'd to catch in Cocoa Shells, in the Shape, and of the same Size with a human Scull.

* This must be a Kind of Wicker-Basket.

There

There are no Cows in their Islands. These Strangers ran away when ever they met with any Grazing ; as they also did at the Barking of a little Dog, kept in the House of the Missionaries : nor have they Cats, Deer, Horses, or Quadrupeds of any Kind ; and very few Birds but such as live upon the Sea, Hens excepted, which they feed upon, but never touch the Eggs.

However, notwithstanding this Penury, they are merry, and contented with their Lot. They have Songs and Dances, which are regular enough. They all sing together, and make the same Gestures, which forms a Spectacle that is no ways unpleasing.

They expressed a Surprize when they were told the Form of Government, the Politeness, and Customs that prevail in *Europe*, of which they had no Knowledge. They admire not only the august Majesty of the Ceremonies, employed by the Church in celebrating divine Service ; but also the Music, the Instruments and Dances of the *Spaniards* ; their Weapons, and above all, Gun-Powder. They likewise admired the Whiteness of the *Europeans*, themselves being of a tawny Complexion, as are all the Inhabitants of that Country.

We don't yet find that they have any Knowledge of the Deity, nor that they worship Idols ; they seeming to lead a Life intirely barbarous, and having no other Care but to procure themselves Food. They discover a great Veneration for their King, and the Chiefs of their several Hamlets, to whom they pay all imaginable Obedience. They have no stated Hours for Meals ; but eat and drink at any Hour, or in any Place, when they have an Appetite, and wherewithal to satisfy it : But they never eat much at a Time, and always in so little a Quantity as is not sufficient to serve for the Day.

The Manner of showing their Civility and Respect was, to take the Hand or Foot of the Person
D whom

whom they intended to honour, and to rub their Face gently with it. Among their small Utensils were some Saws, not made of Iron, but of a large Shell, called here *Taclobo*, which they sharpen by rubbing them against certain Stones. They also had an Iron one, of only a Finger's Length. They were greatly surprized, on occasion of a Trading Vessel which was building in *Guiguan*, to see the Multitude of Carpenters Tools employed about her; and viewed 'em, one after another, with Admiration. Their Country produces no Metals *. The Father Missionary having given each of them a pretty thick Piece of Iron, they discovered more Joy at receiving this Present, than if it had been so much Gold; and were so fearful of its being stole, that they laid it under their Heads whenever they went to sleep. Their only Weapons are Lances, or Arrows made of human Bones. They are naturally of a very peaceable Temper †; and whenever there happens a Quarrel among them, it ends with a few Blows on the Head with their Fists; yet even this happens but seldom; for the Instant any of them are going to fight they are parted, and an End is put to the Fray. However, they are neither heavy nor stupid; but on the contrary have a great Deal of Fire and Vivacity. They are not so lusty as the Inhabitants of the *Ladrone* Islands; but are well shap'd and about the Size of the People of the *Philippines*. The Men and Women let their Hair grow, and it falls upon their Shoulders.

These Strangers being told that they were to appear before the Father Missionary, they painted their Bodies all over with a certain yellow Colour, which they think adds a great Beauty to their Persons.

* How then did they get the Iron Saw above mentioned, unless by some Vessel being cast away on their Coast?

† This does not agree with what we are told of these *Palao* in *Somera's* Journal concerning them.

They are so delighted with finding here all Things necessary for Life, that they have offered to return to their native Country, in order to invite their Countrymen hither, and to persuade them to traffic with the Inhabitants of these Islands. Our Governor is very well pleased with this Design ; he hoping that it may give him an Opportunity of bringing this Country in Subjection to the King of *Spain*, which would be of great Advantage to the Propagation of the Gospel. The oldest of these Foreigners had been cast before on the Coast of the Province of *Caguyan* *, in one of our Islands ; but happening to meet with none but Heathens, who inhabit the Mountains and along these Desert Coasts, he returned to his native Country ‖, without knowing the Wealth and Fertility of these Islands. However, he was more fortunate in his second Voyage, the Infants being baptized, and the rest instructed in the Mysteries of our Religion. They are skilful at diving ; and I am told that they lately took, as they were Fishing, two great Pearls in their Shells, which they, not knowing the Value of 'em, threw back into the Sea. I write all these Particulars (Reverend Father) from a Persuasion that you'll be very well pleased to hear of a Transaction, which will be of great Advantage to such of your Children as may have the Happiness to carry the Faith into these newly discovered Countries. We are in want of Labourers, where the Vineyard is so very spacious ; and therefore hope you'll be so kind as to send us some, and not forget us in your holy Sacrifices.

I am, with the most profound Respect, &c.

PAUL CLAIN.

* This is in *Mindanao*, one of the *Philippines*.

‖ A Quære might be made how he got back.

36 TRAVELS of the JESUITS.

N. B. *The next Letter * from Father Francis Lainez, Superior of the Mission of Madura, (dated there the 10th of February, 1693) to the Jesuits of that Mission, containing only a Relation of the Death of Father John de Brito, and the Persecution of some other Christians, is therefore omitted.*

Father DE PREMARE, to Father DE LA CHAIZE, Confessor to his Majesty.

Most Reverend Father, Canton, Feb. 17. 1699.

THE Concern you are pleased to take in every Thing relating to our Missions, puts us under an Obligation of giving you an Account of our Voyage. 'Tis something so new and unexpected, to hear, in the Relation of a Voyage from *France* to *China*, of the Kingdom of *Achen*, and the City of *Malacca*, that you possibly may not be displeased to be informed how we came to take so extraordinary a Course; and the several remarkable Particulars we met with in it.

We found nothing very considerable till we came towards the Straits of *Java* †. We had before met, not far from the Line, with Mons. *des Augers*' Squadron sailing to the *East Indies*; and had the Pleasure to embrace such of our dear Companions as were on board those Ships, which will not reach *China* till this Time Twelvemonth. They likewise came up with us again at the Cape of *Good Hope*; and Father *Bouvet* being extremely desirous of conducting a large Number of Missionaries to *China*, took the Fathers *Domenge* and *Baborier* with him; so that we were now eleven Missionaries, all Jesuits, on board the *Amphitrite*; there remaining on board Mons. *des Augers*' Squadron, only Fathers *Fouquet* and *d'Entrecolles*, and Brother *Fraperie*.

* The II. Volume of the Original begins here.

† We generally call 'em in *English* the Streights of *Sunda*.

With

With regard to the Cape of *Good Hope*, 'tis well known in *France*, since Father *Tachard's* Voyages; but a wide Difference must be made between what is said of the Garden belonging to the *Dutch* Governor, and the other Things seen there, all the rest being nothing in Comparison to it. This Garden forms one of the most beautiful Spectacles in the World. Art indeed has taken far less Pains there than Nature; the Sight not being intertain'd as at our Country Seats, with regular Parterres, Statues, Cascades, or Bowers, all rais'd in a very masterly Manner; but the whole consists of an Assemblage of the most curious Productions, whether of the Forest or Garden, found in the four Quarters of the World. We there see, besides Orange and Lemon Trees, which are very lofty, and all standards, a prodigious Number of other Trees and Shrubs, the greatest Part unknown to us, and always verdant and in Flower, with a great Profusion of the most excellent Pulse and Fruits, which are eat all the Year round. Here Walks are seen open, and there they are covered with a thick Shade, intersecting one another, and extending to a great Length, on a Flat: There a Rivulet winds about the Garden with as much Beauty and Symmetry, as if its Canal had been dug for that Purpose. Here we also see the distant Ocean, which every Moment exhibits a new Spectacle to the Eye. 'Tis certain, that all these Beauties united, would be thought, even in *France*, an enchanting Place for taking the Air, and excite the Curiosity and Admiration of Foreigners *.

We

* All Travellers who have seen these Gardens, expatiate on the Beauties of them. 'Tis said, that most of the Flowers and Fruits transplanted thither, flourish more than in their original Soil. These Gardens are watered by Springs which fall from the Table-Mountain, one of the three remarkable ones at the Cape, which may be discovered fifteen Leagues at Sea: They take up nineteen Acres of Ground, and are inclosed by Squares of Bay-Hedges.

38 TRAVELS of the JESUITS.

We left the Cape of *Good-Hope*, after three Months sailing, the 10th of *June* 1698. We should have finished above half our Course, had we been so fortunate as to enter the Streights of *Sunda*. Such as are acquainted with these Seas, know that the Passage from the Cape to *Batavia* generally takes about two Months. This might have been the more easily done, as we advanced very swiftly in our Course, till we came in about ninety Degrees of Longitude. 'Twas then thought Time to advance in Latitude, which we accordingly did so effectually, that being come the 21st of *July* in about six Degrees and an half of Latitude, which is pretty nearly that of *Java*, we were in Hopes of spying Land. Nevertheless, advancing still forward, we found ourselves the 26th of *July*, in four Degrees and a Half, without perceiving any Shore; and 'twas not till the 31st that we saw the Island of *Sumatra*; but as to the Streights of *Sunda*, we had gone upwards of sixty Leagues beyond them, and there was no Possibility of our returning back. Our Pilots must have been most egregiously mistaken in the Longitude. We therefore were very much at a Loss to know how we should get to *China* that Year; but finding no human Assistance could avail us, we addressed ourselves to Heaven, and to St. *Francis Xavier*, in order that we might reach the wish'd for Port that Year.

Hedges, which are so high and tufted, that the Plants, &c. suffer but little from the Storms which come from the neighbouring Ocean; these Hedges forming also a most grateful Shade in Summer. Here likewise is a noble Grove of Chestnut-Trees, which keep off the blustering Winds, and are impenetrable by the Sun-Beams. Among other curious Fruits that grow there, are the Crimson *Japan* Apples, which appear exceedingly agreeable to the Eye, when seen among the green Leaves. Likewise the *Pisang* Figs, which grow on a Plant that dies the Instant the Fruit is ripe; and a new Plant shoots from the same Root the next Year. The last Fruit I shall mention, is the *Indian* Guavos, of the Size of a Crab Apple, and round. This Fruit is very wholesome and exquisite to the Taste.

We

We had already begun the Devotion or Office of the ten *Fridays*, in honour of that great Saint †, to which we added a Vow, whereby we bound ourselves either to take the Communion in the first Port of *China* we should come to that Year; or to raise a Contribution to build, in the Island of *Sanchan*, a little Chapel over the Grave of that Apostle, in order to shelter it from the Rain, and to make it fit and convenient for celebrating Mass.

Reflecting afterwards on our Misfortune, we were of Opinion, that to have prevented our passing beyond the Streights of *Sunda*, we ought, at our leaving the Cape, when we found the Winds blow westerly, to have run directly in Longitude, till about the Hundredth Degree; whereas we even in the Ninetieth began to rise in Latitude; or to tell the plain Truth, we did not know for a long Time where we were, tho' we thought otherwise. Should Mariners mistake as grossly as we did, in the Estimation of the Longitudes, they will certainly run as much out of their Course as we did, and perhaps more.

We did not reach *Achen* till the 18th of *August*. For above three Weeks we were forced to submit to all the Inconveniencies which are found under the Equinoctial, such as Calms, Heats, Rain, and bad Aliments; these spoiling and corrupting under the Line, which at the same time, gives a new Missionary an Opportunity of suffering for Christ. However, we all continued in very good Health, the Creator being so indulgent as not to leave us without Consolation; and perfectly convincing us, that as all Things are ordained by him, nothing could befall us but what must be highly for our Advantage.

† St. *Francis Xavier* preached the Gospel ten Years in *India*, in Commemoration of which, some Prayers or Devotions are offered up ten *Fridays* successively, in honour of that Saint; he dying in the Island of *Sanchan*, on Friday the 2d December 1552.

Every Object we behold in † *Achen* is so singular in its Kind, that I have frequently lamented my being unskill'd in designing, otherwise I should have presented you with a Draught of what I can describe but very imperfectly in Words *. The great Power of the People of *Achen* formerly, is well known, as is evident from the Life of St. *Francis Xavier* ; but I believe the present State of this Kingdom is very little so, or its Capital City. I possibly may misapply Terms, in giving the Name of Capital to a confus'd Assemblage of Houses and Trees.

Figure to yourself a Forest of Cocoa Trees, Bambou, Ananas, and Bananas, through which runs a considerable River cover'd with Boats. Intersperse this Forest with a numberless Multitude of Houses made with Canes, Reeds, and Barks of Trees ; and dispose these in such a Manner, that they may sometimes form Streets, and at other Times separate Districts. Intermix these several Districts with Meadows and Groves, and people every Part of this large Forest with as great a Number of Inhabitants as are seen in our populous Cities, and you then will form a pretty just Idea of the City of *Achen* †, and be

* The Father has given so beautiful a Description, in Words, of this Town, as well as of the famous Garden of the *Dutch*, at the Cape of *Good Hope*, that it more than compensates for his want of Skill in Drawing.

† This is the chief City in the Island of *Sumatra*, which was the first Country the *English* traded to in the *East Indies*, viz. in 1602, under Queen *Elizabeth*, when Captain *Lancaster* (who had the chief Command of the Fleet, consisting of four Ships, carried Letters from the Queen to the King of *Achen*, and concluded an Alliance, and settled Articles of Commerce between that Prince and her Majesty of *England*. This Letter is finely drawn up, and worthy the noblest Pens of that Age. This Treaty has been of great Benefit to *England*, no *Europeans*, till some late Misunderstandings, being so kindly treated in *Achen* as they. Captain *Lancaster* afterwards settled a Trade in *Bantam*, where he left Factors also for carrying on a Trade to the *Moluccas*.

† This City is situated in a Plain, surrounded with Woods and

be obliged to confess, that a City in this new Taste may be a pleasing Spectacle to Foreigners. *Achen* is inhabited by People of all Nations, every one of which has its peculiar District and Church. That of the *Portugueze*, who are poor and few in Number, is under the Care of a *Franciscan*. This Father has a very hard Task, and very little Consolation to expect from Man in his Labours.

The Port of *Achen* is admirably well situated. The Anchoring is very good, and the whole Coast vastly healthy. The Port is a large Bason, bounded on one Side by the Main-land of *Sumatra*; and, on the others, by two or three Islands, through which are Passages, one going towards *Malacca*, another to *Bengal*, and a third to *Surat*. People who come into the Road cannot discover the least Signs of a City, the tall Trees which rise from the Shore hiding all the Houses; but, to pass over the Landskip, which is vastly beautiful, nothing can be more agreeable than to see, in the Morning a pro-

and Fens, about a Mile and a half from the Sea. In the Centre of the City stands the King's Palace. The Country round about *Achen* is interspersed with Rivulets, Moors, and vastly thick Woods of Cane or Bambou. The City consists of seven or eight Thousand Houses, all which are very slight, they being made only of split Cane, or Bambou and Palmeto Leaves. The Natives of *Achen* are mostly *Mahommedans*; so that a great Number of Mosques built with Stone, and roof'd with Tiles, are seen about the City. Several Foreigners inhabit it, as *English*, *Dutch*, *Danes*, *Portugueze*, *Guzarats* and *Chineze*, the last being the most numerous, and carrying on the greatest Trade there. Formerly the *English* had a Factory in *Achen*, which not being found to answer the Expence, the Officers were recalled. All the *Europeans* in general, and particularly the *Dutch*, are beheld by the Natives with a jealous Eye. In 1719, the People about *Bencoolén*, in the Island of *Sumatra*, conspir'd against the *English*, and drove 'em out of their Settlement in that Place. Gold Dust and Pepper are the chief Commodities of this Country. It behoves the *English* not to give up their Settlements on the West of *Sumatra* (as 'tis said they intended some Time since) unless they are willing to let the *Dutch* engross the whole Pepper Trade. There are Gold Mines in this Island.

digious

digious Number of little Fisher-boats, which go out of the River at Sun-rising, and don't come back till Night. One would almost consider them as a Swarm of Bees, loaded with the Fruits of their Labour, returning to the Hive.

These small Fisher-boats, called Praws, are not above three Foot broad, and about twenty long. They are very neat and clean, both within and without; the Boards are so well joined, that there is no Need of Tow and Tar to calk them; and they always look new. No Oars are employed to set them in Motion; but only a Sail made vastly thin, light and neat, which looks double the Dimensions of what it should be, in Proportion to the Body of the Praw. Nevertheless, Art has supplied a Remedy on this Occasion. At each End of the Boat are two Poles, of a considerable Length; and at the Top of each Pole is fix'd a Piece of Wood bending bow-wise towards the Sea, the whole Length of the small Vessel *. Each Bow is fastened, by a weighty Piece of Timber, to that opposite to it. These two Pieces are fixed to the Extremities of the Bow; and making a counterpoise to each other, form a Kind of Balance, which prevent these little Canoes from oversetting †. Thus the least Wind gives them Motion; and they fly along the Sea with a surprizing Swiftnefs, without being endanger'd by the most furious Billows.

* The People of *Sumatra* are very indifferent Mechanicks, if we except their Praws or Flying Boats, which are very curiously made. These Praws are never used, except for fishing, or for sailing to some of the adjacent Islands. They will run eleven or twelve Miles an Hour, whilst an *English* Pinnace with two Sails, will not make above five. They have Praws which carry twelve or fifteen Ton; and with these they will make very profitable Voyages to *Pegu*, *Siam* and *Malacca*; they never undertaking any longer Voyages, as they have no Ships of Force.

† Others say, that when the Wind blows hard, a Man or two are sent to sit at the End of the Windward Outlayer, (there being one on each Side) for Fear the Praw should overset.

To

To enter the River, we must go a considerable Way about, because of a great Sand-bank, made where the River empties itself into the Sea. We then sail for near a Mile between two little Groves of Cocoa and other Trees, whose Verdure is perpetual, and which were planted by the sole Hand of Nature.

Through these Trees we begin to discover, in some little Measure, the above mentioned City. It at first appeared to me like the Landskips invented by Painters or Poets, when they exhibit to us, in one View, the most delightful Images of the rural Scene; every Thing here is careless and natural, rural, and even of a wild Cast.

I could not get any certain Information, with regard to the present State of the Government of that Kingdom *. Mention is still sometimes made of a Queen of *Achen*; but I am of Opinion, 'tis all a Fiction; only, that if there be really one, she enjoys no more than the Shadow of Sovereignty. Four or five of the principal *Oran Cayas*, or great Lords, divide the Government, which is not very considerable, among themselves. The People of *Achen* don't make a great Figure at present. Their Country produces neither Wheat nor Vines; they trade chiefly in Pepper and Gold †. The Inhabitants are

* We are told that the Island of *Sumatra* was formerly divided into a great Number of petty Kingdoms, most of which, when the *Europeans* first visited this Country, were united under the King of *Achen*; the King of *Bantam* claiming some Territories which lay nearest to the Island of *Java*. Writers differ very much as to the Forms of Government used in *Sumatra*. 'Tis not improbable that, in the Kingdom of *Achen*, both Sexes succeed indifferently to the Crown, and that it may be a mix'd Monarchy. The King of *Achen*, and some other Monarchs in that Island call themselves Sultans, who also are often call'd *Pangarans*. The *Europeans* are not acquainted with the Highlanders or Mountaineers of *Sumatra*, who are supposed to be descended from the *Chineze*, and are Heathens.

† Good Samphire is also found here, with the Bezoar Stone.

not obliged to open the Earth, or dig into its Bowels, to search for that precious Metal ; they finding it in small Pieces, on the Declivity of Hills, in Gutters or Cavities, whither it is carried by the Waters. The Gold of *Achen* is thought to be the purest in the World.

No Passage is so difficult and troublesome as that of the Streights of *Malacca*. We had like to have suffered shipwreck twice in it. We entered these Streights the 23d of *August*, and did not get quite clear of them till the 20th of *September* ; so that we were twenty nine Days in making two hundred and twenty Leagues ; which is much longer Time than it would have taken up by Land. We were for ever employed in casting and weighing Anchor ; and to add to our Misfortune, we had only a wretched *Portugueze* Pilot, who being very dim-sighted, did not know where he was, the Instant he had lost Sight of Land. Our *French* Pilots have learnt this Course to their Cost ; and have had an Opportunity of drawing Charts much more correct than any yet published of it. At the Close of this Letter, I shall point out the Course which must be taken, in order to pass with Safety through these Streights, and those of *Gobernadour*.

The City of *Malacca* is about an hundred and fifty Leagues from *Achen* ; and the same Beauties are found in both Cities. We here see Abundance of Verdure, and various rural Landskips ; but the Houses are better built than in the last mentioned City. A greater Concourse of Strangers is seen in *Malacca*, a more considerable Trade is carried on there, and 'tis visited by a much greater Number of *Europeans* : And tho' all Things here have a less negligent Air than in *Achen*, yet Nature is not concealed by Art. The City is separated from the Fortrefs by a River, which mixing with the Sea when the Tide is in, makes the Citadel stand in an Island.

This

This Fortrefs is as large as the Town of *St. Malo* ; and within its Limits is a Hill, on the Summit whereof is still seen the Remains of our Church (*St. Paul's*) wherein *St. Francis Xavier* preached so often. The Garrison consists of but two Hundred and fifteen Foot, and six Horse. There are several Roman-Catholics in that Corps, and the whole is formed of various *European Nations*. The Bastions are pretty strong, and there are a great Number of fine Cannon, but not Men enough to fire them. There is a beautiful and capacious Road, it being a Creek made by the Shore in this Place, where we met with two or three poor defenceless Ships, and some Boats built after the *Indian Manner*. The Fruits of *Malacca* are very delicate, and of every Kind. There are some Mosques for the Service of the *Moors*, and a Temple dedicated to the *Chineze Idols*. In fine, the publick Exercise of all Religions is allowed here, except that of the *Roman Catholics*, who are forced to fly into the deepest Solitudes to perform their Devotions *.

At seven Leagues Distance from *Malacca*, we

* The City of *Malacca* belongs to the *Dutch*, who took it from the *Portuguese* (who had dispossessed the Natives of it in 1511) in 1640, or 1641. 'Tis very strong by nature, and commands the Streights of *Malacca*. The City stands close to the Sea-side, and is defended by a strong Fort. 'Tis inhabited by between two and three hundred Families of *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, *Chineze* and *Moors*; the *Chineze* having the best Shops there. Most of the Houses in the City are of Stone, but the Streets are not pav'd. The *Malayans*, who are tyranniz'd over by the *Dutch*, live in mean Huts in the Suburbs. When the *Portuguese* possessed *Malacca*, the greatest Trade in *India* was carried on here with the *Europeans*, except at *Goa*; *Malacca* being the Rendezvous for all the *Portuguese* Shipping from *China*, *Japan*, &c. The *Portuguese* built the Castle and the Wall. 'Twas a Bishop's See. There was a Jesuit's College here, and several Parish Churches; but these (one Church excepted) the *Dutch* have suffered to run to ruin. We are told that the *Dutch* will scarce suffer any *European Nations* except themselves, to trade in these Parts.

came opposite to a Port which is not inferior to that of *Malacca*. This is another very commodious Creek, or little Bay, where we found a beautiful River, which Ships may enter. Before we leave *Malacca*, I must observe, that we had like to have been cast away in the Night of the 10th of *September*. There rose, on a sudden, so violent a Storm, that we had never seen the like. The Air was all on Fire, and the Sea raging, accompanied with frightful Blasts and Showers of Rain. It being supposed that we should not continue here above one Day, at most, and as the Sea is generally pretty calm in this Place, but one Anchor only had been thrown out; not to mention that most of the Sailors were gone ashore, and that the few remaining on board were fast asleep, unapprehensive of Danger. However, the Storm soon wak'd them; upon which, a second Anchor was thrown out with all possible Speed; then a third; and we must infallibly have perished, had not Mr. *de la Roque* obliged the whole Crew to work at the Capstane. We continued in twenty Foot Water till two in the Morning, when we set sail.

The 24th of *September* we got in Sight of *Pulo Condore*, with a good Wind. We intended to put into that Road; but a Wind springing up, which was still more favourable for us to proceed in our Course, it happened to be directly contrary for our casting Anchor at *Pulo Condore*, there being no good anchoring in that Place; not to mention, that the Channel was too narrow for us to ply to windward in it.

The 29th, we knew pretty well that we were near a Chain of Rocks, above an hundred Leagues long, called the Shoals of *Parcel*; but we did not imagine we should run into the Midst of them. We founded about four in the Afternoon, but without

out finding any Bottom; when a Squall of Wind, which sprung up suddenly, carried us at a vast Distance in a few Hours. At half an Hour past five, as we were going to Prayers, we were surprized to see the Colour of the Ocean quite changed; and after Prayers were over, the Bottom, which consisted wholly of sharp-pointed Rocks, was seen very clearly. This threw us all into the deepest Consternation, every Man thinking he was certainly lost. We sounded, and found but seven Fathom Water; when running up to take a View round, we observed that the Sea grew white, and broke before us. Had we been there in the Night; or had one of the Squalls (so common in those Seas) sprung up, we must infallibly have suffer'd Ship-wreck. The only Thing now in our Power was, to get back again with all possible Speed. Night was coming on; the Bottom was found very unequal, and always of Rock harder than Iron. We no longer doubted our being got upon the Shoals of *Parcel*; and expected every Instant that our Ship would dash to Pieces like a Glass. However, the Almighty was exerting his Power in our Favour, at a Time when we least expected it: For a Squall that sprung up before us soon dying away, another gentle Wind arose, which rescued us out of the Jaws of Death. During the Time the Danger lasted, there was nothing of that Noise and Bustle usually heard on board of a Ship. 'Twas all a sad and gloomy Silence; every Man's Conscience, if I may be allowed the Expression, seeming painted on his Countenance.

Experience then taught me, what I had often been told in several Voyages, I mean, the wide Difference found between Danger, when seen from far, at the Foot of the Oratory, and the being actually in it. As Death star'd us every Instant in the Face, the important Truths we so frequently reflect upon, had

had never, till then, presented themselves so strongly to my Mind. How happy does that Man find himself, who had engaged in the Service of his God ; and how much more strongly than ever does he resolve to expose himself to the greatest Perils for his Sake !

Between seven and eight we sounded ; and finding no Bottom, 'twas plain we were out of Danger ; but if this was so soon over, I hope it made such an Impression on the Hearts of many Persons as will not be soon effaced, but, on the contrary, will produce such Fruits as the Almighty, in all probability, chiefly has in view, when he raises such Storms.

I don't know what God is preparing for us in *China*, but we have not hitherto been exempt from Trials. The ancient Missionaries consider this as a good Omen. However it be, there is nothing we more ardently desire (with God's Grace) than to correspond faithfully to the Design he may have in sending us hither.

Tho' we were not far from *China*, 'twas yet uncertain whether we should arrive there, as the Season was past, and the Winds had blown very irregularly from the 27th of *September*. We then were more earnest than before in Prayer ; and Father *Bouvet* discovered greater Confidence than ever in God, who, at last was pleased to hear us ; for about *October* the 15th, at seven in the Evening, we spied the promis'd Land.

'Twas the Island of *Sanchan*, whither St. *Francis Xavier* had conducted us within a Day's Journey of his Sepulchre. Our Ship's Company had not known for some Days where we were ; and scarce any of them would believe my Brother Jesuits and I, after our assuring them, that we had visited the glorious Sepulchre there, to offer up our Devotions, and to discharge our Vow. We set out on this holy Pilgrimage on *Thursday* the 9th of *October* ; and after
having

having gone full four Leagues by Sea, and one by Land, we found ourselves on a sudden at the wish'd for Place. We then spied a pretty large Stone standing upright ; and the Moment we read the *Portuguese* Words following, *A qui foi Sepultado S. Franco Xavier **, we kiss'd this sacred Earth several Times †. Some of our Company water'd it with their Tears ; and I myself felt Sensations of so lively, so soft and consolatory a Nature, that during above a Quarter of an Hour, I was in a Kind of Extasy, and incapable of fixing my Mind on any Thing but those Thoughts which then employed it.

These first Transports of Zeal being over, we survey'd the Sepulchre very carefully ; after which we rais'd, with Branches of Trees, and a Piece of a Sail, a poor Tent, which was but too just a Representation of that in which *St. Francis Xavier* died. In fine, we sung *Te Deum*, with the Litanies of the Saint ; and began to pass the most delightful Evening that can be enjoyed in this World. How exquisite are the Pleasures which are felt, when Men, on Occasions like this, communicate to each other their fondest Thoughts and Reflections ! We are entering, says one of our Company, upon our Apostle-

* Here *St. Francis Xavier* was buried.

† The Jesuits have been blam'd for bestowing the most extravagant Encomiums on the Founders, and other famous Persons of their Society ; of which the following Instance, among others, is given, *viz.* their Epitaph on *St. Francis Xavier*. " Stop, ye Heroes, ye exalted Souls, and Lovers of Virtue. It does not become you to undertake any Thing farther, since *Xavier* lies here interr'd. But I am mistaken ; here is little or nothing of that great Apostle of the East, who was courageous above the Power of Nature ; illustrious beyond Imitation, and admirable above Envy ; of that Son of *Ignatius* ; that immortal Angel, in a mortal Body. There is but very little of him here that could be corrupted, since little belonging to him was corruptible. He has brought more Nations in subjection to the Church, than the *Greeks* and *Romans* subdued in many Ages to their Empire." *La Morale pratique des Jesuites*, p. 25, 26. *A Cologne* 1669, 12mo.

ship, in that very Place where St. *Francis Xavier* concluded his. He could proceed no farther in the vast Empire of *China*; whereas we are allowed the most free Access to it. What may we not justly hope to atchieve there for God's Glory, under the Protection of a Saint who was able to open to us the Gates of that Kingdom. He died here (says another) worn out with Toils for his Redeemer's Sake, after having converted whole Nations; but shall we be so happy as to make the like End? We afterwards sung the Litanies of the blessed Virgin. During another Pause we said over our Beads, and resumed the Praises of the Saint; and these Orisons were intermix'd with Discourses which had all the Merit of Prayers. We then enumerated the Virtues of the Apostle of the East; on which Occasion I found that I myself was deficient in all of them. One of our Fathers called to Mind the Night which St. *Ignatius* pass'd in the Church of *Montserrat*, before an Image of the blessed Virgin, at the Time when he intended to devote himself to God. This Vigil, at the Sepulchre of an Apostle, seem'd to resemble that, and we call'd it our Night Probation *.

While we were employed in such Reflections, Day broke upon us; and the seven Priests, with myself, had the Advantage and Consolation of celebrating Mass on a *Friday*, dedicated to St. *Francis Borgia*. The Stone of the Sepulchre of the Apostle of the East, serv'd as the Basis of our Altar, which we had rais'd on the very Spot where 'tis plain this Saint was interred. We are not only the first *French* Jesuits who had the Honour to do this, but not a single Person was ever indulg'd it before, except

* In *French*, *notre nuit d'armes*, a Figure which seems to be borrowed from Books of Chivalry, where 'tis said, that such as were to be made Knights, were obliged to watch their Arms the whole Night before their being received as such. See *Don Quixote*. The Allusion here is very pleasant.

Father *Caroccio*, an *Italian* Jesuit of great Merit, whose surprizing apostolical Labours brought him not long since to his End. After the Masses were solemnized, we again sung *Te Deum*, and kiss'd the Ground an hundred Times. Then we all respectfully took up a little Portion of the Earth, to preserve it as a precious Relick; and we return'd from thence, singing the Praises of the Saint, whose Spirit we had endeavoured to inherit.

We are now arrived in *Cbina*, after spending seven Months in the Voyage, since our setting sail from *Rochelle* the 7th of *March* 1698, and casting Anchor before *Sanchan* the 6th of *October*; and, of these seven Months we must subtract upwards of twenty Days, lost at the Cape of *Good Hope*, at *Achen*, at *Malacca*, and at two or three desert Islands, which perhaps might have been employed to better Purpose. We likewise must subtract the whole Time which we spent in reaching *Achen*, and in passing the Streights of *Malacca*. Less time might have suffic'd for sailing directly from *Java* to *Cbina*; and I don't wonder that a small *English* Ship we met with at *Canton*, did not employ quite five Months in the whole Voyage. 'Twill appear, at least from ours, that it is very easy for a Ship, provided she does not go out of her Course, to sail from *France* to *Cbina* in six Months.

But tho' we were come to *Sanchan*, yet our Voyage was not ended; and had it not been for Father *Bourvet*, it would have been impossible for us to have proceeded farther. This Father waiting upon the nearest Mandarin, who lives in a Town called *Quanbay**, soon sent Assistance from thence to Mr. *de la Roque*; a Mandarin coming with Coasting Pilots, who promised, upon Pain of forfeiting their Heads, to carry the Ship above half-way up to

* 'Tis *Couang-Hai* in *French*, which I suppose to be the same City.

Canton. There were two Ways thither; one through the Islands; and the other by the main Sea; but the latter Course was dangerous in this Season, because a little Gust of Wind may drive a Vessel to a very great Distance, and even force her as far as the *Moluccas*. We yet took the latter Course, plying to windward incessantly quite to *Macao*. We did not sail from *Sanchan* till the 13th of *October*; and we cast Anchor on the 24th before the Island of *Macao*. During this, Father *Bouvet* went from *Quankay* to *Canton*, to give the Court notice of his Arrival; and after having writ, and taken the necessary Measures with the Mandarins, he returned to the Island to meet our Ship.

The City of *Macao* is built in a small Peninsula, or rather on the Point of an Island whence the City * is call'd. This Cape joins to the rest of the Island only by a very narrow Tract of Land, on which a Wall of Separation is built. Those who cast Anchor, as we did, on the Outside, spy nothing round them but an Assemblage of Islands which form a large Circle; and discover only two or three Fortresses, on so many Eminences; and some Houses standing at one End of the City: A Spectator would even imagine, that the Fortresses and Houses join to some very high Land, which bound the Prospect on that Side. But between this Land, which forms a pretty large Island, and *Macao*, is a fine Harbour; and the City extends inward, along this Shore. The Houses are built after the *European* Manner, but somewhat low. There we also see Verdure, and something of the *Indian* Turn in all Things.

* In some Relations of the Jesuits, the little Island where the Town of *Macao* stands, is called *Goaxam*.

There are more *Chineze* in *Macao* † than *Portugueze*. Almost all the latter are *Mestizos*, and born either in *India* or *Macao*. They are far from being rich; and indeed the *Chineze* at this Time, have very little Regard for them. The Fortifications of *Macao* are tolerably good, the Soil excellent; and there are a great many Cannon; but the Garison is poorly supplied; and as they are furnished with all Things from *Canton*, the *Chineze* might easily possess themselves of this Place. Here is a *Portugueze* Governour, and a Mandarin, who presides over the whole Country, and has a Palace in the Middle of the great Square. The *Portugueze* are forced to obey all his Orders. 'Twould be impossible for greater Honours to be paid, or more Civilities to be shown any Person than the Mandarin indulg'd all the *French*. No Foreigners ever met with so gracious a Reception in this Country *. 'Tis true, indeed, that these Coasts had never been visited by a Ship like ours. His Majesty's Name does not lose any of its Grandeur, when repeated six thousand Leagues from *France*; but, on the contrary, raises in the Minds of the most haughty Nation upon Earth, a certain Respect which never accompanies the Name of other foreign Potentates §.

Father *Bouvet* came and met us in this Place; he being on board a Galley almost as long as our

† This was formerly a Town of great Trade. The *Portugueze* have now only the Government of their own People in this Place; all the Customs being paid to the Emperor of *China*. The Town stands upon a very uneven Spot of Ground, on the Point of a little Island, which commands a good Road, where Ships are secured from Storms by many small Islands situated to Windward. The Emperor of *China* dispossess'd the *Portugueze* of it in 1668.

* Many are apt to think the *French* exaggerate, in their Relations of the Civilities they meet with in foreign Countries, and the Respect paid to the Name of their Monarch.

§ Is not this a Sort of Rhodomontade?

Frigat ; and the several Marks of Distinction were paid him, which are bestow'd in that Empire, on the *King-chay*, or Envoys of the Court. Such of our Countrymen as saw him, were not a little surprized at what they had been assured in *France*, I mean that the Father in question was in no less a Character than that of one of the Emperor of *China's* Envoys. The Jesuits of *Macao* wrote us a Letter in Terms expressive of the greatest Good-nature and Love. Father *Bouvet* went, with Father *Regis*, to visit the Reverend Father *Ciceri*, Bishop of *Nankin*, and the rest of the Jesuits living in the *Green Island*.

The *Green Island* is so called, from the great Number of Trees with which it abounds, and its very pleasant Situation ; as well as because all the Places round it are naked, and like so many Deserts. It stands pretty near the Wall which separates the City of *Macao* from the rest of the Island. 'Tis as the Country-seat of the *Portuguese* Jesuits. The Chapel is very neat ; and the House is an agreeable Building. But the Circumstances which contribute to make this Place vastly pleasant, are the grateful Shade, and the Cool which prevails in it. Father *Ciceri* was come hither to retire during some Days. This Solitude seems perfectly suitable to a Person of an apostolical Frame of Mind, who desires, like *Moses*, to consult the Lord ; and to gather new Strength, that he may be the better enabled to convert the Heathens. But 'tis high Time that I conclude our Voyage, and land in *Canton*.

We cast Anchor, very happily, three Leagues from that great City, on *Sunday* the 2d of *November*. The Course from *Macao* to the Moorings, is difficult ; especially for a Ship like ours, which drew above seventeen Foot of Water ; and if Father *Bouvet* had not brought the two ablest Pilots in the whole Country, we possibly should never have arrived

arrived thither. When Foreigners are once entered the River of *Canton*, they then begin to form an Idea of *China*. On each Side of this River are large Fields of Rice, as green as the most beautiful Meadows, which stretch quite out of Sight, and are divided by a vast Number of small Canals; so that the Boats which are frequently seen moving up and down at a Distance, whilst the Water on which they go is hid from us, seem to run upon the Grass. Higher up in the Country, we perceive the Tops of the little Hills crown'd with Trees, and cut along the Vallies, like the Theatre of the Garden of the *Thuilleries* †. This whole Country is interspers'd with such a Number of Villages, all which have a sweetly-rural Aspect, and is so happily diversified, that the Spectator is for ever employed on the charming Scene, and regrets his being obliged to leave it so soon. At last we had the good Fortune to enter *Canton*, in the Night between the sixth and seventh of *November*, eight Months after our Departure from *France*. We live in a Kind of Hotel or publick Mansion, at the Emperor's Expence. Father *Bouvet* has procured such another for Mr. *de la Roque* and the *French* Officers. The *Chinese* call these Houses *Cong-Koen*, and they serve only for the Residence of the Court-Envoys.

The City of *Canton* is larger than *Paris*, and abounds with as many, or more Inhabitants *. The Streets are narrow, and pav'd with large Stones, which are flat and very hard; but some Parts of the City are unpav'd. Chairs, which are here hir'd for a small Matter, supply very well the Want of Coaches; and these could not be made Use of in *Canton*. The Houses are very low, and there are

† How beautiful a Painter is our Jesuit in all his Descriptions!

* A Gentleman of my Acquaintance, who resided some Years at *Canton*, assured me, that he is persuaded the Father does not exaggerate on this Occasion, *Canton* being exceedingly populous, as well as the Country round it.

56 TRAVELS of the JESUITS.

Shops in most of them. The finest Streets are very much like those of *St. Germain's* Fair. Every Part of *Canton* swarms with almost as many People as are seen at this Fair, at the Time when it is very full; so that it is difficult to pass for the Crowd. Very few Women appear; and most of the People who throng the Streets, are poor Wretches loaded with Burthens, there being no other Carriage for all Goods bought and sold, than Men's Shoulders. Most of these Porters go bareheaded and barefooted. Some of them wear a surprizingly-wide Straw Hat, made in a whimsical Figure, to keep off the Rain and the Sun. All I have here said, gives us, methinks the Idea of a City in a new Form, and very unlike *Paris*. Tho' we were to consider the Houses only, how must Foreigners be surprized to survey whole Streets, where not a single Window is seen; but the whole compos'd of Shops, most of them poor, and frequently shut only with Hurdles of Bambou, by Way of Doors? In a Word, at *Canton* are pretty large Openings or Squares, and triumphal Arches, which are magnificent enough in the *Chinese* Taste. Such as come from the Country, or pass from the old City to the new, must go under a great Number of Gates. A singular Circumstance is, at the End of every Street are Gates, which are shut a little later than those of the City; and for this Reason, every Person is obliged to get home as soon as it grows dark. This prevents a Multitude of Inconveniencies; and by that Means, all Things are as calm and secure in the greatest Cities during the Night, as tho' the whole consisted but of one private Family *.

The

* *Canton* is the chief City of *Quamtung*, the most southern Province of *China*. 'Tis said to be the best Port in *China*, and to surpass all the Cities of *Asia* in Idol Temples, Courts, Palaces, &c. there being thirteen splendid triumphal Arches between the Water-gate and the City. Towards the Water-side are

The Houses of the Mandarins have something which surprize a Foreigner. A great Number of Courts are cross'd before we arrive at the Place where these great Men give Audience, and receive their Friends. Whenever they go abroad they are attended by a majestic Retinue. The *Song-too* †, for Instance, a Mandarin who commands over two Provinces, never goes out without a hundred Men, at least. This Train, however, is far from being troublesome; every Man knowing his Post. Part of his Attendants march before him with various Badges or Symbols, and are cloathed in very particular Dresses. A great Number of Soldiers attend,

two lofty Walls, and two strong Castles; and, towards the Land, a strong Wall, and several Castles. Mr. *Lockyer* informs us, that the Shops of those who deal in Silks are very neat, make a fine Show, and stand most of them together, in one of the best Parts of the City, Tradesmen of the same Profession herding together. In Summer, their Windows are made of Cane or Rattan, and in Winter of Oyfter-shells cut Diamond-fashion, and set in Wooden Frames, and give but a dull Light. They have Charcoal Fires in the Middle of their publick Rooms during the Winter, and Pans of Charcoal in their Chambers, which almost suffocate an *European*. The Walls of their Houses are covered with thin white Paper. In most Streets is a Market, where all Kind of Provisions are sold cheap. Fishmongers keep their Fish alive in Cisterns. The *Chinese* eat any Kind of Meat; Beasts that died in Ditches, as willingly as those which died by the Butcher's Hand. They eat Frogs, which appear loathsome to an *European* Eye, but are well-tasted. 'Tis said their Rats don't eat amiss; and that Snake-Broth is in Reputation there. The common People are great Gluttons, and eat four Times a Day, they cramming down the Rice (their principal Food) so greedily with their Chopsticks, that they frequently almost choak themselves. They are great Lovers of Tobacco, but smoak it when dry, and in very small Bowls. In the Streets are a great Number of blind Beggars, whose Misfortune some ascribe to their eating so much Rice; but others are of a different Opinion. The *Chinese* in Winter carry a live Quail in their Hands to warm 'em, by Way of Muff. Most Things are sold by Weight among the *Chinese*, whom many accuse of being great Cheats in Traffick, if not narrowly watch'd.

† 'Tis written in *French*, *Tjong-tou*.

and

and sometimes go on Foot. The Mandarin is in the Centre of his Retinue, seated on high, in a very large and handsomely gilt * Chair, which six or eight Men carry on their Shoulders. A Procession of this Kind often takes up a whole Street. The Populace draw up on each Side of it, and wait respectfully till the whole Train is passed by.

There are a very great Number of Bonzes, or idolatrous Priests here. There being no Country where Satan has counterfeited more exactly the sacred Form in which God is worshipped in the true Church. These Priests of the infernal Spirit wear long Gowns descending to their Heels, with vastly wide Sleeves, which exactly resemble those of some Friars in *Europe*. They live together in their Pagods, like as in so many Monastries. They beg in the Streets, rise in the Night to worship their Idols, sing alternately, in a Manner which is not far unlike our Psalmody. Nevertheless, they are greatly despised by all Persons of Sense and Virtue, because, spite of this specious Appearance of Sanctity, their different Systems of Religion (all which are ridiculous) are well known, as well as the dissolute Lives which most of them lead. Nor are they much more esteemed by the Populace, whose chief Care is to procure themselves Food; and the whole of whose Religion consists of as many whimsical Superstitions as every Man may think proper to form to himself.

I forgot to observe, that there is a Kind of floating City on the River of *Canton* §, where the Boats are contiguous, one to another, and in the Form of Streets. Every Boat contains a whole Family, and is disposed like regularly built Houses, into Apartments necessary for various domestic Uses. The

* A *Palanquin*. Her Grace the Dutchess of *Buckingham* has a fine one, which was brought from *Cbina*.

§ 'Tis called the River *Ta*.

common People, who inhabit this floating Kind of Barracks, come out from them in a Body, early in the Morning, either to go a fishing, or to work at the Rice, which is here sow'd and reap'd thrice every Year.

As to *Peking*, we learn by the Letters which Father *Bouvet* received from that City at his Arrival in *Canton*, that the Emperor was never in better Health, never more glorious, nor more the Admiration of his Subjects. He went, not long since, in Person to *Western Tartary*, at the Head of a numerous Army. He spread Terror five hundred Leagues round him, and defeated the only Enemy left in his two Empires. He sets open his Magazines of Rice, and sends it as far as *Corea* *. The People think themselves happy in living in the Reign of so accomplished a Sovereign ; but the Circumstance which gives us the greatest Joy is, his showing daily more and more Favour to the Christian Religion. He declares that 'tis the true Law ; is overjoyed to hear that some Persons of great Figure embrace it : and who knows but that the Time is approaching, when God will be so gracious, as to cause the Emperor himself to profess it ? St. *Lewis* sent, anciently, a splendid Embassy to the Emperor of *Cathay* ; now, there never was no other *Cathay* but *China*, as all the Learned of this Age agree. The Design of this religious King was, to induce that Emperor of *China* to embrace the Christian Religion. O that Providence would give us the Satisfaction to see compleated, by the greatest and most glorious of the Successors † of St. *Lewis*, what that Monarch so zealously desired to have done ! In fine, the Emperor confides in the *French* Jesuits as much as ever. 'Tis universally allowed, that Fa-

* A Kingdom between China and Japan, tributary to the Emperor of China.

† This is spoke of *Lewis* XIV.

ther *Gerbillon* is the Support of our Religion in this Empire. Father *Visdelou*, who is perfectly well-skill'd in the Mathematicks, and in the *Chineze* Sciences, is gone, by the Emperor's Command, into some Provinces, to stop the Inundation of the Rivers, which laid waste the whole Country. Father *de Fontaney* came last Year, by the Emperor's Command to *Canton*, to enquire after Father *Bouvet*, and to receive him in case of his Arrival. This Monarch expects him with Impatience; so that we could not possibly have come at a more fortunate Juncture. We likewise are inform'd, that four of the oldest and worthiest Missionaries died, after having spent their whole Lives in that laborious Mission, and won over a prodigious Number of Souls to God. These are Fathers *Prosper Intorcetta*, *Adrian Grelon*, *John Valat*, and *Dominic Gabiani*. 'Tis now above fifty Years since Father *Valat* left *France*. I am told that he went by Land, and got to *China* in a Year. 'Tis absolutely necessary that we make up for these great Losses. I daily beseech the Almighty to inspire a considerable Number of our Brethren with a Desire of crossing the Seas, in order to share with us in Toils which may be so glorious and fruitful. Tho' Heaven should indulge us a Life as long as that of Father *Valat*, and the rest of the Missionaries whom we lately lost, we yet should die before we had visited half the Cities of this Empire; and consequently should leave a great Number of Idolaters unbaptized.

The speedier and more numerous these Succours may be, the more Religion will flourish; not only, because a great many Missionaries may effect what cannot possibly be compass'd by a less Number; but likewise because the surest Way of converting, in a short Time, a whole Country, is to win over, at first, in a conspicuous Manner, a considerable Part of its Inhabitants. This excites in others a Curiosity

sity to enquire what it was that could occasion so sudden a Change; and when once a People are made acquainted with the Christian Religion, they are much more inclin'd to embrace it. We shall never cease recommending to you, very reverend Father, a Design so worthy of your Zeal and Attention. The Motives to it, are, the Cause of God, and the Need we stand in, for his Glory, of a Protection like yours. I am with the utmost Respect,

Most reverend Father,

Yours, &c. DE PREMARE.

The Course for passing the Streights of Malacca and Governadour.

From the Point of *Achen*, we must coast along the Island of *Sumatra* to the Cape of *Diamonds*, that is, to the Distance of about forty five Leagues. All this Coast stands pretty high, the Shores are lin'd with green, and the Bottom is good from seven to fourteen and fifteen Fathoms; and Care must be taken not to go above two Leagues from Land. At the Cape of *Diamonds* we steer South and by East, and soon discover the Island of *Polverere*, which is very high and woody. It may be seen twenty Leagues off, and stands but about twenty five from the Cape of *Diamonds*. 'Tis uninhabited, and the whole Island is not above a Quarter of a League in Circumference. There is good anchoring here. A League or two from *Polverere*, we steer Eastward, towards *Polijara*, another small Island at eighteen Leagues Distance, it resembling the former very much, and in clear Weather, the one may be seen from the other. *Polijara* is on the *Indian* Side; and we need not go nearer it than to about the Distance of eight or nine Leagues; but we must steer between these two Islands, in order to get into the true Channel. When we are at this Distance from *Polijara*,

lijara, we see, on one Side, the *Indian Coast* standing low, and border'd with Trees; and, on the other we lose Sight of the Shores of *Sumatra*. We then must bear away South-east and by East, turning a little towards the South-east, in order to sail directly between two Banks of Sand, which we are obliged to pass. It were better to go through the narrow Channel Eastward, and the nearest to *Malacca*; the broad Channel Westward being too far from Land. We soon discover the Mountain of *Porcelar*, on the *Indian Side*; but in order to sail as securely as possible, we also must steer towards the Islands *Aros*, which lie full West: We then may be assured that we are right in our Course, and must bear away South-east and by East, in order to reach the *Indian Coast*, and cast Anchor before *Malacca*. In this Streight, the Landwinds commonly blew in the Night Time, and at Noon the Sea-winds sprung up. Almost every Night we had pretty hard Gales, with Flashes of Lightning by Intervals; and the Currents ran North-west and South-east. We cast Anchor two or three Times every twenty four Hours; and were obliged to send out the Long-boat every Moment, to take the Soundings, for fear we should go out of our Course.

After having seen the Islands *Aros*, we bear away in order to come in Sight of *Rochade Cape*, on the *Indian Side*; and this Cape remains at the East. Finally, we compleat the Certainty of our Course, by a very sharp-pointed Rock, on which neither Moss, nor any Kind of Verdure grow; and this Rock remains East South-east from *Rochade Cape*. Then sailing South and by East, we, in a few Hours, by Help of the Tide, cast Anchor a full League from *Malacca*; and from thence we begin to get Sight again of the Coast of *Sumatra*.

The

The Coast of *Malacca* stands low, and is covered with Cocoa and Palm Trees, which hide the City. Nothing is seen here but some Houses pretty like those of *Achen*, which stretch above half a League along the Sea-shore. The Citadel appears black. Several Centinels (white Men) stand on the Ramparts; and within, is an Eminence, and the Ruins of a Steeple, which seems to join to a white House. These are the Objects that first strike the Eye, and thereby *Malacca* is known. Those who observe the above Directions, cannot mistake in their Course. Departing from *Malacca*, we bear away, South and by East, as far as the Streights of *Gobernadour*; and there is not any Danger for the first forty Leagues. When there is no Possibility of going against Tide, we must cast Anchor twice or thrice every Day. In our Course, we meet to the Right, with the Islands *Mariacai*; and there also are some Islands to the Left, but these have no Name. To get into the Streights of *Gobernadour*, we must first sail Northward, leaving the Streights of *Sincapora* to the Right. There the Sea is every where full of Islands; the Currents are very rapid, the Tide vastly strong, and sometimes continues twelve Hours. At our Entrance into these Streights, we perceive an Island on which are three Trees, that appear at a Distance, like three Masts of Ships. 'Tis called the Island of *Sand*, and is seen a League off. •It may be a Quarter of a League long, and an hundred Paces broad. 'Tis almost level with the Sea. We must leave it to the Right, and come into sixteen Fathoms Water. We then bear Eastward, and meet with another little Island, all of Sand, in which seven or eight vastly high Trees, at a Distance from one another, are seen. This is called the *Square* Island, whence we see *St. John's* Island, still to the Right; and the last mentioned is about four or five Leagues in Circumference. If we should find but five Fathoms

thom Water, we then must bear away East North-east ; but if we have Sea-room, and can meet with no Bottom, we must steer full East, taking Care not to advance too near the Islands lying on the Left. We thence discover the Mountain of *Ibor*, and are off that little Kingdom. Finally, continuing this Course Eastward, we come to Cape *Romanca*. We then bear away East South-east, and East and by South ; then leaving this Cape Northward, we steer East South-east, to get Sight of the *White Stones*, an Assemblage of Islands lying pretty much to Seaward. As soon as we spy these, we must bear away East for some Time ; then East North-east ; and lastly, North-east, and North-east and by North, to enter the Gulph of *Siam*, and from thence into the great Sea of *China*. The Streights of *Governadour* are twenty Leagues long, and are pass'd with great Difficulty the first Time.

*Father BOUVET, to Father DE LA CHAIZE,
Confessor to his Majesty.*

Reverend Father, Peking, Nov. 30. 1699.

HOW fortunate soever my first Voyage may have been, when I set Sail fourteen Years ago*, from *Brest* for *Siam*, on board the *Bird*, one of his Majesty's Frigats, in Company with five other Priests† of our Society ; I yet can assure you, that my late Voyage was still more successful. We set out on this Voyage later in the Year than we did in our former, and to a far more distant Country. We were unprovided with Charts and Pilots, which are absolutely necessary for those who desire to sail securely in the Seas of *China* ; and nevertheless we cast Anchor happily before the Islands of *Canton*,

* *In the Beginning of 1685.*

† *The Fathers de Fontaney, Tachard, Gerbillon, le Comte, and Visdelou.*

seven Months after our Departure from *Rochelle*, notwithstanding that we had been obliged, against our Will, to stay a Fortnight at the Cape of *Good Hope*, and afterwards touch'd at three other Places; and the most surprizing Circumstance of all, tho' we miss'd the Streights of *Sunda*, which, till then, was thought the only Course, in order for sailing directly from *Europe* to *Siam* and *China*. But this Misfortune, so far from being disadvantageous, gave us an Opportunity of procuring in *Malacca*, the Charts and Pilots which we, in all Probability, should not have had an Opportunity of meeting with elsewhere.

There were but very few Sick on board our Ship during the whole Voyage; and the Missionaries arrived at the wish'd for Port, Thanks to Providence, in perfect Health. We were now eleven in Number, tho' at first only nine had * embark'd at *Rochelle*, with *Chevalier de la Roque*. But at the Cape of *Good Hope*, that Commander took on board his Ship Fathers *Domenge* and *Baborier*, who came in *Mr. des Augers'* Squadron.

A Circumstance which gave us great Comfort at our Arrival in *China* was, that, agreeably to the Desires and Wishes which we had offered up continually to Heaven, for the Success of our Voyage, especially during the last two Months, we were so happy as to land at the Island of *Sanchan*, contrary to the Expectation and even the Design of our Pilots, who, the Evening before, having thought it impossible to reach that Place, had changed their Course, and intended to cast Anchor in Sight of *Macao*. We took the Opportunity which now offered itself, for our visiting the Spot where the Body of *St. Francis Xavier* was first buried, at the Time that a Period was put to his Apostolical Labours, and went thither in Hopes of being favoured (together with the

* *Fathers Bouvet, Dolzé, Parnon, de Brosia, de Premare, Regis, Perminin, Geneix, and Brother de Belleville.*

Dust of his old Sepulchre) with some Sparks of that Fire, of that truly apostolical Zeal, which inflamed the Heart of this great Apostle during his Life time, and with which he daily continues to warm the Breasts of all who are so happy as to imitate him *.

I was

* If *Francis Xavier* was so holy a Saint as the Jesuits declare him to be, some accuse them with making others of their Order pass for such, who were mere Cheats and Spies. To which Purpose I have met with the following Relation, the Truth whereof I will not pretend to warrant, but give it in my Author's Words, as translated by me, with this single Reflection (which I would have applied to every Instance I shall quote of this Kind) that as the Jesuits may very possibly exaggerate in the Elogiums they bestow on the most renowned of their Brethren; so their Enemies may often write with too much Rancour against them, and distort Things. But to the Relation. . . . *Francis Matthew Cyprian*, a Jesuit, came from the *East Indies* to *Macao*. Scarce was he arrived on Shore, but the Bells of the College rang so loud, that the whole Town was alarmed, and wanted to know what was the Cause of this merry ringing. Their Curiosity was soon satisfied by the Jesuits running up and down, and crying, *Father Cyprian is come at last*. His Life was such as is called by the Jesuits, holy; which the People believing, declared him publicly to be a Saint. But that the Reader may form the better Judgment of the Person who was thus unanimously canonized, I shall relate in few Words, not his whole Life (for that would be too prolix) but only his Conduct in *Macao*, to which the People were Eye-Witnesses, and at the same Time, the Heralds of his Frauds. *Cyprian* ascending the Pulpit one Day, in the Jesuits Church, after having been frequently desired by his Brethren to preach there, the Burthen of his Sermon was to the following Purpose. . . . That St. *Francis Xavier* had sent him to preach the Gospel in *Japan*, which Order he had given him in one of their many Conferences. As a Sanction to his Words, he called upon the Testimony of the Holy Images, the Walls and Pillars of their Church. And to persuade the Auditors of the Truth of his Revelations and Extasies, he told them it would be to no Purpose for the Inhabitants of that City to oppose his going to *Japan*, inasmuch as that his Cloak would serve him for a Ship, and his Staff for a Mast; and that thus equipp'd, he would cross into *Japan* more securely than in the stoutest Ship. These Particulars, and many more such, deliver'd by him in his Sermon, griev'd the People very much; because, had his Assertion been verified, the *Portuguese* would certainly have lost the *Japan* Trade, and so all would be ruined. Upon this, the Clergy and the

I was the first who discovered that Sepulchre, by mentioning it to some Fishermen of the Island, and I like-

the Learned among the Laity met together, to enquire into the Reasons which could prompt the Jesuit to deliver himself in this Manner, and how to prevent the ill Effects of it. The most judicious among them imagined, that he was a Fool, and at the same Time a Hypocrite, an Opinion which was not very ill-grounded; it being natural enough to suppose that he concealed, beneath this outward Appearance of Folly, the Design he harbour'd of favouring the *Dutch*, who made Use of him as a very fit Instrument to ruin the City.

Cyprian being told what had past in the Assembly (the Jesuits having trusty Persons in all Places, who, either out of Fear or Interest, acquaint them with whatever is doing) wrote down, on a Piece of Paper, the several Things which had past in the Assembly; and put the Paper into the Hand of a Statue of *St. Francis Xavier*, standing in the Cell of *Manuel Diaz*, a Jesuit and their Visitor. Soon after, a Person who had been in the Assembly in question, came to see the Visitor, which *Cyprian* hearing, he went to *Diaz's* Apartment, and whispering something in his Ear in Presence of the Layman, went away. After he was gone, the Visitor said to the Layman, *D'ye know, Sir, what Father Cyprian says? What Paper is that which St. Francis Xavier holds in his Hand?* The Layman taking the Paper, found therein the Names of all the Persons who compos'd that Assembly, in Father *Cyprian's* Hand-writing; and farther, that they should all die in two Months, for judging so unfavourably of this Jesuit: Then the Visitor earnestly conjured the Layman, to make the Paper in question publick, in order that those Persons who were to die might prepare themselves. However, the contrary of all this happened; for some of those who before had been in a very ill State of Health, were much better during those two Months, and continued well a long Time after: Possibly because the Disease (that Fury) had a Regard for Father *Cyprian*; or because the Sick Persons possess'd some Relicks of him, as his Hair, his worne out Shirts, and such like, which he used to give away very liberally. The Populace had the highest Veneration for him; and when they begg'd Leave to cut his Gown, which was new and of good Cloth, he desired them to desist, saying that his outward Garment was not a very considerable Relick; but that, if they would bring him new Linnen, he would barter his old Shirts for it.

An *Indian* Idolater, who pretended to pass for a Christian, used to shave him gratis, and declared that this Action alone would have been sufficient to convert him; but the Truth was, he got

I likewise was the first who had the Consolation to visit it, in Company with Mr. *de Beaulieu*, Ensign of the *Amphitrite*, an Officer of great Piety, and very zealous for his Majesty's Service.

He commanded the Pinnacle of the *Amphitrite*, which *Chevalier de la Roque* had ordered to be fitted out to carry me to *Quanbay*, a Town in the Province of *Canton*, standing on the Sea-shore, opposite to the Island of *Sanchan*, which is under its Jurisdiction. I therefore went thither, in Hopes of meeting with some Pilot of the Country, who might convey us

considerably every Time he shav'd him, because he sold the Hairs of his Beard as so many Relicks.

To conclude, an Affair which happened afterwards, confirmed them in their Opinion of his being a Spy. A simple and pious Jesuit came to Father *John Baptist Morales*, and said to him privately: *In two Months Time the Emperor of Japan will send for us. Twelve of our College (of whom I myself shall be one) will go thither; and during the first five Years we shall suffer three Kinds of Punishment, that of the Sword, of Fire, and of the Cross; and we have been Eye-witnesses to the great Miracles which Father Cyprian has performed to confirm this Truth.* However, not only two Months, but two Years past (as there would even two Thousand) and not one of these Jesuits lost their Lives; nor did any of 'em go to *Japan*. 'Tis certain, however, that Father *Cyprian* had prepar'd to go into that Empire in two Months; and, for this Purpose, had sent two Jesuits to a Desert Island, to build a Vessel, in order to convey him into the Empire in question; of which the Inhabitants of the City hearing, they gave Orders for destroying the Vessel in question. However, Father *Cyprian* advised the Persons who were to execute this Commission, to forbear, declaring that Fire would fall from Heaven on those who should make any such Attempt. He partly spoke Truth and partly Falshood, there being Fire employed, but not from Heaven; and this Fire did not consume the Men, but These burnt the Ship. By this Means, his whole Design was discovered; and the Inquilitors being fully inform'd of his Revelations, his Prophecies and Impostures, commanded that he should be sent back into *India*. *Anthony Cardin*, a Jesuit, was appointed to convey him thither; but as himself and Father *Cyprian* had suck'd the same Milk, and the same Doctrine, he permitted him to take Refuge among the Moors, where he ended his Life as piously as he had begun and continued it till that Time. *La Morale pratique des Jesuites, Vol. I. pag. 253. & seq.*

safe to the Mouth of the River *Canton*, which we intended to go up.

In our Passage from *Sanchan* to *Quanbay*, we met three Gallies, which had been arm'd against certain Pirates of little Force, who scour those Seas, and were commanded by a *Chineze* Officer, who knew me immediately, he having seen me five Years before in *Canton*. This Officer would make me go on board his Galley; and he himself conducted us to the Sepulchre of St. *Francis Xavier*, which had been often visited by him, it being venerated in all Parts of the Island. We cast Anchor almost within Musket-shot of that sacred Spot; and after being got ashore, and having testified the Reverence we bear to that holy Apostle, by several Bows and Prostrations, both in the *Chineze* and *European* Manner, we sung *Te Deum*, to thank that great Saint for the Protection he had obtained for us, from Heaven, during the whole Voyage; and afterwards offered up several other Prayers, together and apart, in a Strain of Devotion suitable to the Sanctity of the Place. This Solemnity concluded with a triple Salvo of all our Boxes, Pattereroes and small Arms on board our Pinnace, accompanied with Acclamations of, *Long live the King*. The Order and Regularity with which the whole Ceremony was performed, under the prudent Direction of Mr. *de Beaulieu*, delighted the *Chineze*, who were Spectators of it, and at the same Time, gave them a very favourable Opinion of our Nation.

My Companions, to whom I had pointed out the Spot where was the Sepulchre of the holy Apostle, before I myself visited it, fired with a sacred Impatience to go and offer up their Devotions there in Person, would not stay till I had an Opportunity of giving them more certain Advice concerning it, but climb'd up a high Mountain, dress'd in their sacerdotal Vestments, &c. After a swift March of several

ral Hours through pathless and craggy Solitudes, they arrived, almost out of Breath, at the wish'd for Place. They pass'd the Night there in Prayer, with some other Persons, who had accompanied them. The next Morning they celebrated eight Masses successively, in that pious Frame of Mind, which is found scarce any where but on such Occasions.

As all of us had taken the most exact Notice of the Situation of the Place, one of our first Designs, when we were all met, was to agree upon the Form and Dimensions of the little Chapel, which the several Passengers, and the whole Crew on board the *Amphitrite*, had made a solemn Vow to build, two Months before, in Memory of the Apostle of the East; in case that great Saint should prevail with Heaven, to permit us to arrive safe that Year in *China*, as had accordingly happened.

The *Chinese* Officer who had conducted me to the Sepulchre of St. *Francis Xavier*, accompanied me afterwards to *Quambay*. He immediately informed the commanding Officer of the Town, to whom he was subordinate, of my Return from *Europe*, and the Motive of my waiting upon him. This Mandarin, who had seen me several Times in *Canton*, and knew me, commanded the Officer of the Gallies in my Presence, to send for the ablest Pilot in *Quambay*; and then conduct, with his Gallies and our Pinnace, our Ship towards *Macao*. With regard to myself, the same Honours were paid me on shore (by his Order) as are indulg'd the *Kin-chai*, or Emperour's Envoys; as they likewise were by all the Mandarins whom I met with in the Way, quite up to *Canton*, the Capital of the Province of that Name. I had determined two Days before to visit this City, that I might send speedy Advice to Court of our Arrival, and procure fresh Succours for the *Amphitrite*.

During

During the three Days which I was obliged to stay there, to receive and return the Visits of all the General Officers of the Province, who came to congratulate me upon my happy and speedy Arrival ; I prevailed with the Viceroy, and the chief Officer of the Customs, to permit the *Amphitrite* to go quite up the River ; and with this Distinction, that it should not be search'd or gaug'd by the Custom-house Officers, nor pay any Duties, not even those of gauging and anchoring, which his *Chineze* Majesty requires from all Ships *.

I afterwards went on board a little Vessel which the Viceroy had order'd out ; and having two excellent *Chineze* Pilots, I made all the Haste possible back to the *Amphitrite*, to inform the Ship's Company of the good News. I imagined I should find her at the Mouth of the River, and sail'd as far as the Island of *Sanchan*, passing twice before our Saint's Tomb ; but I needed not have gone so far ; for whilst I was sailing between these Islands, the Ship, which had put to Sea, came and cast Anchor in Sight of the City of *Macao*, where I found her at my Return. Chevalier *de la Roque*, and the rest of the Officers of the Ship, were overjoyed at the good News I brought them ; they being persuaded, by the Honours which the *Chineze*, and particularly the Mandarins, paid me against my Will, that they should meet with a kind Reception. For this Reason, they immediately went up the River, and the two Pilots whom I had brought with me, conducted the Ship within two Leagues of the Walls of the City of *Canton*, and cast Anchor there. During this Interval, I went to that great City, in order to get Leave for our sick Men to go ashore in the neighbouring Village, where we were to land. I

* Possibly the Jesuit may enlarge a little here, in the great Regard which he says was shown to a Vessel of the *French* Nation.

luckily met with the *Song-too*, a Mandarin whose Authority is equal to that of the Viceroy, but with this Difference, that the *Song-too* presides over two Provinces, and the Viceroy only over one. Being intimately acquainted with this Mandarin, I prevailed with him, and with the Viceroy, to let *Chevalier de la Roque*, and the other Officers have a *Cong-koen* or publick Hotel, wherein lodge such Persons of Quality and Mandarins as are sent with Honour into the Provinces. With regard to myself, I lodged at the same *Cong-koen* in which I resided when I set sail from *Cbina* to *France*; and was treated in much the same Manner as before. When we came to *Canton*, the Emperor was in *Eastern Tartary*; but immediately upon his Arrival in *Peking*, he ordered three *Kin-chai* or Envoys to ride post and receive me; these Envoys were, Father *Vissdelou*, a *French* Jesuit, Father *Suarez*, a *Portuguese* Jesuit, and a *Manchew-Tartar* *, whose Name was *Hencama*, Principal of a Tribunal belonging to the Emperor's Palace.

Upon their Arrival they told us, in Presence of the Viceroy, the Commander of the Militia, and all the other Mandarins or General Officers of the Province, that the Emperor was glad my Companions and I were returned safe: That his Majesty had ordered that I should take five of them with me to Court; and that the rest had full Liberty to go and preach the Law of the Lord in all Parts of his Empire; that the *Amphitrite* (which had brought me from *France*) should be free of all Duties of Gauging and Anchorage; That he granted the Merchants who came on board that Ship, the Leave they had sued for, to hire a House in *Canton*, and settle a Trade there. Finally, that he was pleased

* The little Nation of the *Mancheous* (or *Manchews*) in *Eastern Tartary*, have made themselves famous, within these hundred Years, by the Conquest of *Cbina*.

with the Favour which had been shown the *French*; and required, that henceforward they should be treated with still greater Honour and Distinction.

Some Days after, the three Envoys desired all my Companions, with myself, to meet in our House at *Canton*, in order that he might acquaint us with the Emperor's Commands. Being come thither, *Hencama*, in Presence of the other two Envoys, told us, as from his *Chineze* Majesty, that the Thing on which his Sovereign set the highest Value was Virtue; and, next to this, Learning, and Skill in the Arts; that he had sent me into *France*, there to seek for Companions possess'd of those Qualities; and was highly satisfied, as I had faithfully discharged the Order which had been given me for that Purpose:—he declared farther, that the Emperor would keep five of my Companions in his Service; and that the other six might go and reside in any Part of his Empire, and preach the Christian Religion.

The Envoys having done speaking, our Missionaries drew up in two Lines, and prostrated themselves nine Times, after the *Chineze* Manner, to thank the Emperor for his Goodness. This was done before a Multitude of People, who went immediately and told all that had passed; a Circumstance which gained the Missionaries great Credit in *Canton*.

In the mean time, the Viceroy and the rest of the Mandarins, in Compliance with the Orders delivered to us by the Envoys, and to show our Officers still greater Favour, resolved to invite them to a splendid Banquet, and to exempt all their Goods on board from Duties of every Kind, a Sum amounting to near ten thousand Crowns; but they insisted, that we should first perform a Ceremonial of Thanks to the Emperor, for freeing us from the Duties of Anchorage and Gauging.

As

As this Sort of returning Thanks is performed after the *Chineze* Manner, that is, by Prostrations and other Ceremonies which seem to imply Submission and Homage; Father *Vissdelou* and I represented, that as the Captain of the Ship, whose Business it was to perform the Ceremony in question, was an Officer subject to the greatest and most powerful Monarch of the wide-extended West, who received Homage, without paying any, he therefore could not perform it after the *Chineze* Fashion. The Mandarins, who were desirous of doing honour to the *French*, so far from having Thoughts of disgusting them, replied, that 'twas enough if it was done in such a Way as might be honourable to both Nations; that is, partly after the *French*, and partly after the *Chineze* Manner; and for this Purpose, they themselves proposed that Chevalier *de la Roque*, turning himself towards *Peking*, should hearken to the Words expressed in the Imperial Order (which the Viceroy, standing up on one Side, should read to him) concerning the Exemption from the Duties; and that the Chevalier should listen to them respectfully; or on his Knees, with his Hat on. That he then should make a Bow after the *French* Fashion by Way of Thanks*; otherwise, that he might attend to the Order with his Hat off, and his Body bowed, but without kneeling on the Ground, and then make a Bow after the *French* Manner.

The Chevalier *de la Roque* approving the last Way of thanking the Emperour, he accordingly performed the Ceremony in so noble a Manner, as rais'd in the Viceroy, and the rest of the Mandarins who were present at it, an Esteem for his Person and for that of his Countrymen†. The *Chineze*

* What a Fuss was here made about a Trifle!

† I don't doubt but many of my Readers will smile at the Foppery of this Description. One would take the Chevalier to be a Posture-Master, rather than a Sea-Officer.

afterwards

afterwards gave an Entertainment to the Chevalier and all his Officers, who, on this Occasion, took Precedency of the several General Officers of the Province. I say on this Occasion; for in another Entertainment of Ceremony that was given them, as by Order of the Court, and in which the Viceroy was seated in the Middle or chief Place, as representing the Emperour, Chevalier *de la Roque* was set below him, but above the rest of the Mandarins, who were placed opposite to the *French* Officers, these sitting on the most honourable Side. Chevalier *de la Roque*, to whose Option the Viceroy had left it some Days before, chose to be entertained in this Manner by the Viceroy (and that in the Mandarin's Palace) rather than by the rest of the General Officers of the Province, who are inferior to the Viceroy, tho' the Chevalier and his whole Train were to have the Precedency. The Ceremony being ended, we did not continue long in *Canton*, but left Father *de Brossia* to superintend our Church there. The Day of our Departure, the Viceroy, the *Song-too*, the Commander of the Militia, and the rest of the General Officers of the Province, all in their ceremonial Habits, waited upon us to the River-side. We were informed in *Nan-chan-fou*, the Capital of the Province of *Kiamsi*, that the Emperour was set out from *Peking*, and advancing towards the Province of *Nanking*. We accordingly travel'd that Way, and met him between *Yanchew* and *Hoai-ngan*, two large trading Cities, standing on the Side of the Canal through which the Emperour was passing.

This Monarch hearing of our Arrival, sent Father *Gerbillon*, who putting us on board a little Vessel, conducted us towards that of his Majesty. The Moment we came up with it, we fell on our Knees, according to the *Chineze* Custom, and enquired after the Emperor's Health. At that Instant the
Prince

Prince appeared at a Window, and enquired in so very gracious a Manner how I did, as must have charm'd the most insensible Hearts. He then commanded us to come on board his Vessel, on which Occasion he only asked me some Questions, his Majesty having before been sufficiently informed of the several Particulars of our Voyage, by the long Letters I had writ to *Peking*.

At eight in the Evening of the same Day, his Majesty gave us a second Audience in his Closet, where he spoke to us longer, and with still greater Familiarity than in the Morning. I begg'd the Emperour to grant us Leave to return to *Yang-chew*, we having left the Presents which we had brought for him in that City. The Instant we were arrived there, we disposed them in so beautiful an Order, that several of the principal Noblemen of the Court who saw, and could not forbear admiring them, confessed they were the most singular and curious, in their Kind, which had ever been seen in that Court. The Emperour being desirous of taking a nearer View of them, caused the several Things to be brought in one after another; and as he is perfectly well-skill'd in all Works of Art, he pointed out, better than any other Person could have done, the Esteem in which they ought to be held. Above all, he was struck with the Portraits of the Royal Family, and especially with that of his Majesty of *France*, which this Prince could not forbear gazing upon, as if the Exactness of the Resemblance, and the Vivacity of the Colouring, delineated, in a sensible Manner to his Eyes, the various Wonders he had been told concerning our august Sovereign*.

Two Days after, Fathers *Vissdelou* and *Suarez*, and *Hencama* their Colleague, were commanded to

* May not we call this gro's Flattery, and altogether unworthy of a Man who professes to undertake long and hazardous Voyages, in no other View but to win over Souls to Christ?

proceed

proceed in their Journey as far as *Peking*, and to order the Presents to be carried thither. As to myself, the Emperour desired Father *Gerbillon* and I to follow him, till my four Companions whom I had left behind, should be come up with us.

Hearing, next Morning, that they were but three Leagues from *Yang-chew*, we went to meet them. The Emperour landed in a little Island called *Kinchan*, situated in the Middle of the *Kiang* *, the broadest and deepest River in *China*.

'Twas in this enchanted Island, that the Emperour saw them all five, for the first Time. After they had saluted him, according to the several *Chinese* Ceremonies, he bid them come forward, with such an Air of Goodness and Familiarity, as they could not but admire. He then ask'd them several Questions relating to the Sciences and the polite Arts, which gave them an Opportunity of showing their Abilities, and at the same Time discovered to them the Emperour's Genius and deep Erudition. They won, even in this first Audience, the Esteem of that mighty Monarch, insomuch, that he could not forbear saying, that he believed a very good Choice had been made, in their Persons; that they seem'd extremely well qualified for his Service, and that he was mighty glad to see them. But nothing was a greater Proof of the Satisfaction he felt on this Occasion, than the Orders he gave for their being furnished with lighter Barges than those they had before; and that they, Father *Gerbillon* and myself, should attend upon him during his whole Voyage, which lasted above three Months †.

Tho'

* This, I suppose, to be the River *Kiam*, or *Blue River*, as 'tis called in our Maps.

† If these Jesuits attended so close upon the Emperour, merely to win him over to the Christian Religion, upon the Supposition that it would be for his Welfare, their Design was very laudable; otherwise they would answer the Picture given of them in the following

Tho' I did not propose to relate in this Place, any of the Particulars concerning the Emperour's Voyage, I yet cannot omit, reverend Father, taking some Notice of the Regard which his Majesty was pleased to shew to nine or ten Missionaries, of different Nations and Orders, who were introduced into his Presence by Father *Gerbillon*, to have the Honour of saluting him, and to offer him some small Curiosities. This Prince caus'd them all to come near his Barge, that he might speak to them with the greater Familiarity; sent them Viands from his own Table, and even Money, to show, by these public Testimonies of his Royal Benevolence, the Esteem he entertains for all the Missionaries in general; and thereby to give 'em the greater Credit in the several Provinces of his Empire *. And, to pay

lowing Lines. The Jesuits are exceedingly solicitous to gain Credit with the World, and to get Access to the Palaces of Kings and Princes, they raising themselves by various Degrees of Favour, till at last they grasp all Things. With what Reluctance do they leave a Palace, when once they have got Footing in it? With Regard to their Churches and other Edifices, they employ all the Arts possible, in order to draw to their Houses the most considerable Persons of the several Places where they are settled, for which Purpose they build Rostra, Galleries, and other Embellishments of Building, never used by any other Order of Friars. To this let us add, their Care in engrossing to themselves the Education of Youth; the signal Encouragement they give to the Children of the Rich, on whom they bestow all possible Marks of Distinction, tho' they can scarce read; whilst, on the other Hand, they take no Notice of the Children of the Poor, how remarkable soever they may be for their Genius or Assiduity. Their chief View, therefore, is, not to instruct Youth, but to gain, by all the Arts they can possibly employ, the Friendship of Persons in Power, in order that they may engross every Thing, and raise themselves in the World, of which they are, at one and the same Time, the Idolizers and the Slaves. *La morale pratique des Jesuites*, Tom. I. p. 25, 26.

* Some are of Opinion, that the Fathers stretch almost as much, when they talk of the Honours paid them in *China*, and the great Regard which is there had to the Christian Religion and to the Jesuits, as when they treat concerning their Miracles.

Cer.

pay a still greater and more peculiar Honour to our holy Religion, he sent to the two Churches in *Nankin* and *Hamcheu*, Capital of the Province of *Cbekiam*, a Person to worship the true God there, and to enquire into the State of those Churches.

On the Report made to his Majesty by this Officer, that the Christians were rebuilding the Church of *Hamcheu**, more renown'd on Account of the last Persecution, which gave Occasion to the famous Edict in favour of the Christian Religion, than for its Pictures and Architecture, tho' these had made it be considered as the finest Church in *China*; he gave a Sum of Money, in order that the Edifice might be finished out of Hand.

Such shining and universal Testimonies of the Emperour's Esteem and Affection, as well towards those Missionaries who are in his Service, as to such as live in the Provinces, might persuade our Friends in *Europe*, that the Monarch in question is not far removed from the Kingdom of Heaven: Nevertheless, if, on the one Hand, it is incumbent on us to return God infinite Thanks for the perfect Health he indulges this Monarch; for the compleat Victory he has permitted him to gain over the *Caldan* †, his only formidable Enemy; for the Felicity with which his *Chinese* Majesty governs his Subjects, he being equally beloved and dreaded by them: In a Word, if 'tis our Duty to thank the Almighty for the Prosperity he grants him in this Life, we yet, on the other hand, have but too just Reason to

Certain it is, that they had ingratiated themselves very much in the Emperour's Favour.

* This Church had been burnt to the Ground a little before, with Part of the City of *Hamcheu*, as appears from the History of the Emperour of *China*'s Edict in favour of the Christian Religion, Pag. 65, 3d Edit.

† King of the *Elouths* (in *English* we should sound it *Eloot*) one of the most powerful *Tartarian* Princes, whose Dominions were conquered not many Years since, by the Emperour of *China*.

fear,

fear, that this will be the only Reward he will meet with, for all the moral Virtues which shine forth in his Person, and for the peculiar Protection he has so constantly indulged both to our holy Religion, during so long a Course of Years, and to such as preach it in his Empire; unless the Perseverance of so many pious Souls, who have so long offered up their Prayers to that Power in whose Hands is lodg'd the Heart of Sovereigns, should at last oblige him to become a Convert; and force him to embrace those Truths in which he is perfectly instructed. For this we daily implore Heaven, and beseech all good Persons to join with us in our Prayers, for the greater Glory of God, and the Salvation of all *China*.

I am, &c.

JOACHIM BOUVET.

Father PREMARE, to *Father* LE GOBIEN.

Ven-cheu-fu, in the Province of
Kiamsi, Nov. 1. 1700.

Reverend Father,

AT my Arrival in this Country, I had the Honour to write to the Reverend Father *de la Chaize*. Being then but little acquainted with *China*, I scarce presented him with any Thing but a bare Relation of our Voyage, and an Account of the many Leagues we run out of our Course in different Seas, for near eight Months, occasioned by the bad Weather, and the Unskilfulness of our Pilots.

I don't doubt but he has been so good as to communicate my Letter to our Fathers; and that you have met with some Particulars in them, which, tho' perhaps not curious enough to be purposely sought after, were yet worthy to be taken Notice of by Travellers when they come in their Way.

But

But now that I begin to be acquainted with this Country ; and that Heaven has been so gracious as to enable me to learn, in a short Time, as much of the *Chineze* Language as to understand tolerably well what others say, and to make myself be understood by them ; I am able to inform you of a great many Particulars, which I was ignorant of when I wrote my former Letters ; and now I think it incumbent on me to begin with a Subject which most affects us both ; I mean, with the State of Religion, and its urgent Necessities, in this vast Empire. I therefore shall not add any Thing to what you have so often been informed of by Letter within these few Years, I mean, that *China* is the most fruitful Climate, and the richest Country in the Universe. The Magnificence of the Emperor and of his Court, and the Wealth of the great Mandarins, exceed all that could be said on these Subjects. An *European* is immediately surprized to behold nothing but a vast Profusion of Silk, Porcelane, Cabinets and other Household Goods, which, tho' not richer than those in *Europe*, are more glaring than most Things of this Kind in that Part of the World.

But I will only observe, by the Way, one Thing to you, which, at first, may appear a Paradox, and yet nothing can be more true ; I mean, that the richest and most flourishing Empire in the Universe, is, in one Sense, the poorest and the most wretched of any. *China*, how vastly extended and fruitful soever it may be, is yet insufficient to maintain its Inhabitants. In order for the *Chineze* to be happy, it were necessary that they possessed a Country four Times as large as their own. In the single City of *Canton*, there are, without enlarging, above a Million of Souls ; and 'tis said, that in a large Town, only three or four Leagues from *Canton*, there are more Inhabitants than in the last mentioned City. This shows what a prodigious Number there must

be in this Province. What Idea then are we to form of the Populouſneſs of the whole Empire, as 'tis compoſed of fifteen large Provinces, moſt of which are equally well inhabited; to how many Millions muſt this amount? Now, a third Part of thoſe *Chineze* would eſteem themſelves happy, if they only had Rice enough to ſubſiſt upon.

* 'Tis well known that extreme Neceſſity will prompt Mankind to commit the moſt ſhocking Acts. Such *Europeans* as ſettle in *China*, and are Eye-witneſſes to what paſſes, are not ſurprized to hear that Mothers kill or expoſe ſeveral of their Children; that Parents ſell their Daughters for a Trifle; and that a Spirit of Avarice prevails in this Empire, and that it is full of Thieves: They are rather ſurprized that Accidents of a ſtill more fatal Nature are not heard of, and that, during Seaſons of Scarcity, and almoſt Famine, which are but too frequent here, Millions ſhould die of Hunger † without once attempting to lay violent Hands upon themſelves, of which there are ſo many Examples in *Europe*.

By the Way, the Poor in *China* cannot juſtly be reproach'd, as moſt of thoſe in *Europe* deſerve to be, with Idleneſs, and with their having an Opportunity of ſubſiſting themſelves, if they would but work. 'Twould be impoſſible to deſcribe the Toils and Diſcomforts of theſe unhappy People. A *Chineze* will frequently ſpend whole Days in turning up the Ground; will often ſtand Knee-high in Water, and yet ſuch a Man in the Evening ſhall think himſelf happy if he can procure only a little Porringer of Rice, and the inſipid Water in which it is

* I would not have tranſlated moſt of the Particulars which follow, to the End of the Chapter, had I not preſumed it might be proper to give my Readers an Idea of the Manner in which the Jeſuits expreſs themſelves on theſe Occaſions.

† I ſuppoſe that this is not ſpoken abſolutely, but only put for a very great Number.

boiled

boiled for his Drink. This is his whole Commons. Nevertheless, many of them are extremely easy under their Sufferings; and if we were to take away Desires, which are so natural to the unhappy, the Innocence of their Manners would correspond well enough with their Poverty, and the Greatness of their Toils.

The first Reflection which the Misery of those poor People naturally raises in a Missionary is, to make him say thus to himself; O that I could but procure them, at least, the solid Consolation which those who suffer, in following the Maxims of the Gospel, feel; if I could but teach them to sanctify their Miseries, setting before them the Example of a God suffering for their Sakes; and by acquainting them with the infinite Blessings, the eternal Happiness they may obtain for themselves in Heaven, by the poor, the laborious, and the painful Life they lead upon Earth! But how could so small a Number of Missionaries be heard by that numberless Multitude of Heathens, who are computed only by Millions, and whose Language is so extremely difficult?

Be not therefore tir'd with hearing us say, many Years hence, that the Harvest is great, and the Number of Labourers very few. Inculcate this strongly to such of our Fathers as are inclined to come into this Country; and let them not give Credit to what I formerly heard, when I was preparing to set out upon foreign Missions; that the Good which we are told in *Europe* may be done in Missions, is greatly enlarged upon; and that the Heathens are not so much inclined to be baptized as we are inform'd there. The Heathens indeed do not yet flock to us in Crouds for that Purpose, as we hope they will some Time hence; nevertheless, every diligent Missionary may, with the Assistance of his Catechists, baptize four or five hundred Idolaters every Year.

Gracious God! if a very zealous Preacher in *Europe* was sure to convert, by his Sermons and Missions four or five hundred People annually, would not he be thought one of the most successful Ministers of the Gospel, and would not such a one very possibly imagine himself necessary? We are not impatient when we do not convert a greater Number in these Countries; and we call this but a tolerable Beginning, because we do not measure the Success by such as we might have met with in *France*, but by that of a *St. Francis Xavier* in *India*, and of our apostolical Brethren, his Successors, in *Japan**, where numberless Multitudes of Infidels flock'd to them for Baptism.

I omit

* The Jesuits, notwithstanding this Boast of the great Pains they take, with no other Design but to bring over Heathens to Christ, are accused, by the following Author, of acting upon far different Motives. They have no other Concern (says this Writer) but to promote their own Interest; and, for this Purpose, they don't scruple to raise Commotions and Wars, as was very justly observed by Father *Diego Collado*, a Dominican, in a Memorial presented by him, to the Royal Council of *India*, the 17th of December 1633. 'Tis in § 3, that we read the following Words: *The Japonese were persuaded, as early as the Year 1565, that the Preachers of the Gospel caus'd, whithersoever they went, a sad Havock by the Wars and Seditions they raised. But it is to be observed, that, at this Time, and even till 1593, the Japonese had been visited by no other Fathers than the Jesuits.* This is not the Assertion of the Friar, he copying these Words from the General History of *Japan*, printed at *Alcala* in 1601, which the Author (*Lewiz Guzman* a Jesuit) declares he borrowed, either from genuine Relations, or Eye-witnesses. This Author gives an Account, Chap. 3. Book 11. of the Persecution which the Emperour of *Japan* rais'd against the Jesuits, and the Reason this Monarch had for employing such severe Methods, *viz.* because the Jesuits were Knaves and Impostors, who, upon Pretence of preaching Salvation, came in no other View but to enlitt Men, and to carry on some treasonable Practices against him and the King of *Japan*; and that had he not been aware of them, they would have deceived him, as they had before done several other Kings and Princes; so that they had sufficiently discovered, in six Years Time, what they are, and the Motive of their preaching the Gospel.

I omit the vast Number of young Children, who on account of the miserable Circumstances of their Parents, are by them exposed, as was before observed, both in Town and in the Country, where they are in Danger of being devoured by wild Beasts ; as well as of suffering endless Torments after this Life, if you do not succour them. A Person whose only Occupation was to be that of searching for such Objects, in order to baptize them in this deplorable Extremity, would not find it lost Labour. Few Days would pass but some such Object would be found ; and these Innocents might be more easily saved, because many consider their Death as an Ease to their Country ; for which Reason, no Person will give himself the Trouble to take 'em up, and rescue 'em from the Jaws of Death. Most of such would go into Paradise the Day of their Baptism.

Thus I have told you, reverend Father, the most urgent of all our Necessities. We stand in need of Companions in our Toils. Tho' Hundreds of Missionaries were to come hither, now we are allowed full Liberty to preach the Gospel in every Part of

Let it not be objected, that the Emperour acted thus, merely out of Hatred to the Christian Religion, since he gave the Franciscans Permission, *anno* 1593, in Writing, to enter into his Empire, there to build Churches, Hospitals and Convents, and to wear their Habit publickly ; And notwithstanding this, the Persecution was still carried on against the Jesuits, who had but one Church left in *Nangasacke*, a Port where a great Trade is carried on. The Emperour was not willing that this Commerce should be lost ; for which Reason, some Jesuits, one of whom was *John Rodriguez*, the Emperour's Interpreter, continued there to take Care of the Goods. This shows how deeply the Jesuits were concerned in Trade, since, to carry it on, it was judged proper to leave some of them at the Time that the rest were drove out of the Country. 'Tis equally evident, that they were not sent away on Account of their Religion, since the Franciscans, who laboured with greater Success at the Conversion of Infidels, were admitted into the Empire at the same Time ; but merely because the *Japoneze* abhor'd their Knavery and Lies. *La morale pratique des Jesuites*, Tom. 1. p. 214 & seq.

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this wide-extended Empire, they would have Business enough. The first Alms you receive ought to be employed for this Purpose, this being the Thing we most want. However, I would not advise you to frighten People, by informing them of the Sums that will be necessary for the Maintenance of so great a Number of Gospel-labourers. Desire only so much as every Person can spare without incommoding himself. I have often thought, that the Monies which are allowed in *France* to a Country Priest, whose Parish sometimes does not consist of an hundred Persons, is sufficient to support a Missionary in *China*, who not only has the Direction of a Church already established, and which is sometimes composed of twenty or thirty thousand Christians ; but who likewise may convert, every Year, Heathens sufficient to form a Parish of five or six hundred new Converts. If four or five Persons would join, they might settle such a Pension without putting themselves to any great Inconveniency ; and if the Missionary was but to manage well his little Stock, he would have enough, over and above his own Maintenance, to bestow from time to time a *Modicum* by Way of Alms. Words could never express how much such Alms, how inconsiderable soever they may appear when bestowed by the Missionaries, are of Advantage to Religion, at the same Time that they reflect the highest Honour on it. This confirms the Idolaters still more in the Opinion they entertain, that we do not visit them for the Sake of their Treasures, but for the Good both of their Souls and Bodies ; and 'tis well known that this is one of the chief Circumstances which makes them think favourably of our Religion : not to mention, that it gives the *Chineze* the most advantageous Idea possible of the extensive Charity of the *Europeans*, to whom we ascribe all the Honour of these Alms ; often declaring, that were it not for the Liberality

berality of certain generous Spirits, we could not support ourselves, nor have wherewithal to bestow on them. This Zeal of Persons who think of Foreigners at so great a Distance from them; Foreigners whom they have never seen, and whose Aid they can never want, affects them as strongly as any one Particular.

Farther, those who are in needy Circumstances, are thereby induced to listen to Christian Instruction. They put their Confidence in Persons who love them; they judge of our Affections in Proportion to the Benefits they receive from us; and are persuaded that 'tis no ways our Intention to deceive them. In fine, they encline such *Cbinezze* Christians as are in the most flourishing Circumstances, to bestow, on their Brethren in Christ Jesus, Alms to a much greater Amount than those we give. The *Bonzes* preach up Charity pretty much; but then, this is done in favour of themselves, not for the Poor; whereas we take nothing for our Ministry *, and, farther, we practise what we teach †. But if the Spirit

* Many Persons will not believe them to be poor and disinterested. . . . The Jesuits (says an Author) tho' they seem Beggars outwardly, are not so in Fact: It being merely a pretended Mortification, when they send any of their young People to sue for Alms; and when any old Man, belonging to their House, goes abroad for that Purpose, he does not eat the Bread given him, but either sells or gives it away. . . . And afterwards, They declare themselves to be Poor, and would persuade all the World that they are so; and nevertheless their Wealth is such, that their yearly Revenues amount to more than those of all the other Orders put together. *La morale pratique des Jesuites, Vol. I. pag. 12 & 21, 22.*

† Notwithstanding the great Austerities they declare to be practised by them (as the Reader may have seen in a former Letter) many charge them with being mere Hypocrites on these Occasions. Peruse the following Passage. "The Jesuits lead a Life of Luxury and Delicacy. . . . No People wear finer Linnen than they, nor lie on softer Beds; and those who endeavour to apologize for their not employing Woollen about their Persons or their Beds, say, that the Seams of their Linnen, " tho,

Spirit of Charity should rise higher, and you should ever happen to meet (as possibly you may) with those generous Minds, who comply with every Proposal of a good and solid Tendency, we shall have Opportunities enough in this Country, of employing their Liberality, how great soever it may be.

Among various Establishments wanting, and which would greatly advance the Progress of the Christian Religion, by the Honour they must necessarily reflect on it, there is one which myself, as well as several other Missionaries, have greatly at Heart. I mean the building, in five or six of the greatest Cities belonging to the chief Provinces of the Empire, a Kind of Hospitals for bringing up those Foundlings whose Lives as well as Souls may have been saved. This would properly be a Work worthy the Piety of Ladies, to whom you consequently ought to explain this Design. For these Hospitals would consist principally of Maidens; such being exposed, rather than the Males, by those Parents who have more Children than they can well maintain. Parents also have less Compassion on these than on the Boys, from a Belief that it will be more difficult to provide for the Girls, and to enable them to get their Livelihood.

They therefore should be instructed, till they come to a certain Age, in the Principles of Religion; and be taught such *Chineze* Arts as may suit their Sex and Condition. At fourteen or fifteen they might be plac'd, as in *France*, in the Families of

“ tho’ far from thick, are but too troublesome to them. They
 “ never get up in the Night to say Mattins; they keep no more
 “ Vigils or Fasts than such of the Laity do who are in the most
 “ flourishing Circumstances. They feed upon the greatest Dainties,
 “ and have excellent Wines and other Liquors. . . . Besides
 “ their not observing any extraordinary Fast, they have obtained
 “ Briefs for dispensing from keeping Lent, and every Kind
 “ of Fast, all Persons to whom their Superiours may indulge
 “ such a Favour. *La morale des Jesuites, Vol. I. pag. 19, 20.*

Christian

Christian Ladies, who would prefer them to Heathen Domesticks, or else be sent to a Sort of Monasteries, there to pass their Lives in working and Prayer. If a few such Communities were once established, I don't doubt but there would be several more, consisting of Persons of the highest Quality, as in the *European* Convents. The *Chineze* Women are naturally fond of Solitude. Besides their Tendency to Devotion, they are brought up, in the Houses of their Parents, after a very recluse Manner; so that we may presume it would put 'em to very little Restraint, to embrace a cloister'd Life. We seldom speak to them of the great Number of holy Virgins, who chuse Christ for their Spouse, in the different religious Orders of the Church, but they discover a Desire to make so noble and generous a Sacrifice, in their own Persons, to Heaven.

A considerable Number of pious Establishments are daily founded in *Paris*, unless the Face of Things be greatly changed, in this Particular, since I left that City. Now, could not a Lady of Quality * do

* 'Tis in the Minds of Women that the Jesuits are said to strive most industriously to ingratiate themselves, particularly, when such Women are thought to be near their Dissolution. They endeavour to get Footing into all Places, in order to procure Donations, and punish all those very severely, who do not exert themselves for that Purpose, they considering them as the Subverters of their Society, as will appear from the following Story which happened in *Madrid*. A wealthy Woman, who had some Relations in that City fell sick. During her Sickness she made Use of a Jesuit for her Confessor, who, being a faithful Servant to the Society, advised the Lady to leave her Estate to the Jesuits, and to disinherit her Nephews, to which she consented. The Confessor upon this returned home with Transport; and, in the Excess of his Joy, demanded the Recompense bestowed on such as bring good News, he imagining that he had performed an heroic Action, in procuring the Society so rich an Inheritance. However, it so happened that one of those Fathers, being of a very noble Family, and a Man of the greatest Probity and Honour, was struck with this insolent Behaviour; and being fully determined to defeat the Design of the other Jesuit,

do something like this, in favour of *Peking*, the Capital of *China*? Persons, at so great a Distance from *Europe*, would not be allur'd by Vain-glory, nor prompted by those idle Applauses which the Quality of Foundress sometimes procures them from the People of the World. But, (gracious God) can this ever be the Motive of such excellent Works? And if any Persons are so weak as to be affected by such Encomiums, ought they not, on that very Account, to send their Alms to the other Extremity of the Globe, where God, who alone was privy to their Deed, would bestow on them a full and entire Recompence? The excellent Work I propose ought

suit, he went and visited the sick Lady, at a Time when he knew the Confessor was not there. His Gown procured him Access to her, which would have been refused to a Friar of any other Order; it being a Maxim among the Jesuits, not to permit any such to visit the Sick, whom they are allowed to see, for fear lest they should overthrow all their Machinations. The honest Jesuit took a Notary along with him, and told the Lady, that in the Condition she was, it was more incumbent on her to comply with her Duty than with her Devotion; for which Reason, he prevailed with her to cancel her Will, and the several Legacies she had bequeathed to the Society, and to leave her Estate to the lawful Heirs. She died soon after, upon which the Confessor took Possession of the House, and of all the Keys. He then opened the Will, which had been sealed, whereby it appeared, that she had bequeathed almost her whole Estate to the Fathers. But whilst the wicked Jesuit was priding himself in being Master of it, and succeeding so happily in his Design, and was treating her Nephews with the utmost Haughtiness, upon the Supposition that they were dependant on him, on account of a trifling Legacy which their Aunt had left them; the chief of these Relations came with the Codicil; took the Keys of the House from the Fathers, and drove 'em from it. The Jesuits sought very industriously for the Person who had play'd them this Trick; and finding it was the Father in question, they, the very next Day, put a Note under his Napkin, by which he was commanded to leave their House, the Society having no more Occasion for his Service. He then went and threw himself at the King's Feet, to whom he told the whole Story; upon which his Catholic Majesty took him under his Protection, and sav'd him from the Fury of the Jesuits. *La morale pratique des Jesuites, Vol. I. pag. 207, & seq.*

not

not to be laid aside, from this Consideration, that it could not be effected by one single Person; since that the Money which serves to feed and clothe a poor Person in *Paris*, would subsist four or five. Farther, in *France* 'tis not always a single Person that supports a House, but several who join their Contributions for that Purpose.

'Tis enough that there be one Person at the Head of the rest, whose Care may be to excite their Benevolence, from the Knowledge they have of the Wants of such as are the Objects of their Charity. 'Tis not even necessary, that the Persons in question should bestow large Sums, by Way of Alms, at a Time. They may give little and often. The kind Reception which the *French* on board the *Amphitrite* met with from the *Chineze*, gives us Reason to hope, that an easy and lasting Correspondence will be established between the two Nations, whereby we may have an Opportunity of hearing from you, and of being favoured with Alms from *Europe*, more than once a Year. The Voyage takes up but six Months, at most, provided a Ship sets sail from *France* at the End of *December*, or the Beginning of *January*. We saw a small *English* Ship in *Canton*, which performed the Voyage in five Months. Was a Ship not to sail till the Beginning of *March*, she yet might arrive in *China* the same Year; but then the Voyage would be longer and more hazardous. We put into several Ports (which lost us a great deal of Time) by our missing the Streights of *Sunda*; but notwithstanding this, and tho' we went near five hundred Leagues out of our Course, in unknown Seas, wherein we were forced merely to guess at it, we yet came to *China* at the Close of the seventh Month. It would be impossible for any Person to arrive so soon by Land, tho' he did not go a Step out of his Way, and should travel fourteen or fifteen Leagues every Day.

I am

I am firmly persuaded, dear Father, that the many virtuous Ladies who are desirous of knowing what is transacting on this Side of the Globe, will be touch'd with the Particulars which I have here writ to you ; and be pleas'd with me for publishing the Wants, with regard both to this Life and that to come, of so many little Creatures, who claim a more particular Regard, because they, after leading a very short and very miserable Life upon Earth, can expect nothing but eternal Death †.

I shall conclude with again intreating you not to be displeas'd at hearing us so often implore your Aid. I once thought it would have been impossible for me ever to be so urgent ; but the Sight of Necessities of a certain Kind, give a new Turn to a Man's Thoughts. Zeal may cool in the Midst of *France*, in Places where it may be suppos'd that other Persons will do the Good which we have not done. Ever since I found myself determin'd to sacrifice my Ease, my Health, and my Life in this Country, for the Salvation of Souls ; I am persuaded that the coolest and most imperfect among Mankind, would be fir'd with still warmer Zeal ; and that it must argue a great want of Duty in me, if, concealing the Necessities of our poor Churches, I should be the Occasion of their receiving less Succour. However, we may hope not to be always so burthensome to you. When the Number of rich and powerful Christians shall be increased, we then will beseech the *Chineze*, and not the *Europeans*, to help our Churches ; but that Hour is not yet come. Long after our Saviour's Abode upon Earth, the primitive Christians assist'd such Heathens as stood in Need of their Aid ; and the Sight of their great Liberality, induced even many of their Enemies to

† If by eternal Death, our Jesuit means eternal Misery, what a strange Idea must he form to himself of the Creator of these Children ?

become Converts to their Religion. We would gladly serve you in the same Way, in Hopes that Heaven will bestow the like Blessings on your Alms.

I am, with great Respect, &c.

DE PREMARE.

Father STANISLAUS ARLET, to the General of the Society, concerning a new Mission in Peru.

Most Reverend Father, Sept. 1. 1698.

IN 1697, on the Eve of the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, Father Francis Boriné, my Companion and I arrived in good Health, blessed be God, in Peru, without meeting with any sinister Accident. You had given us Leave, exactly four Years before, to leave *Bobemia*, our native Country, in order to visit the *West Indies*. After I had resided some Time in these Parts, our Superiours indulged the most ardent of all my Desires, which was, to advance farther up into the Country, in order to found a new Settlement. This we have called the Residence of St. Peter, in honour to the Prince of the Apostles, under whose Auspices the Mission was attempted and begun.

The Barbarians, whom Providence has appointed me to instruct, call themselves *Canisians*. They are direct Savages, and differ but little from Beasts, both as to their Behaviour and Manner of Living. All the Men and Women go naked. They have no fix'd Habitations, no Laws, nor any Form of Government. Equally Strangers to Religion and Superstition, they pay no Honour either to God or Devil; and yet they have formed to themselves a better Idea of the supreme Being than one would have expected from them. Their Colour is a deep brown;

brown; they have a savage and menacing Aspect, and a Fierceness in their whole Person.

"Twould be difficult to guess how many Inhabitants there may be in this wide-extended Country, because they are never seen to assemble in Multitudes, nor have we yet had Time to form any Conjectures on this Head. They are perpetually at War with their Neighbours; and, whenever they take any of them Prisoners in Battle, they either make 'em Slaves so long as they live, or, after having roasted them on Coals, eat them in their Banquets *, and use the Skulls of those they have thus devoured instead of Cups.

They are very much addicted to Drunkenness, and when strongly intoxicated with Liquor, they often quarrel, rail, wrangle, and murder one another. Modesty will not permit me to mention a great many other Irregularities of a much more shameful Nature †, to which they brutally abandon themselves, whenever heated with Liquor. Their Arms are a Bow and Arrows, and a Kind of long Javelin made of sharp-pointed Reeds; and these they hurl so dextrously, and with so much Force, that they are sure to strike the Person to whom it is levelled at, tho' above an Hundred Paces from them. The Number of their Wives is not limited, some having more, some less, according as they think proper. The Employment of the Wives, for whole Days together, is to prepare for their Husbands Liquors composed of various Sorts of Fruits.

* I am persuaded our Author was imposed upon on this Occasion, the most sensible modern Travellers being of Opinion, that there is no Nation in the World, who make it a Practice to feed on human Flesh. This will be farther descanted upon in the Sequel of our Work.

† I can scarce figure to myself Crimes of a much more shameful Kind, than for People to butcher themselves in this Manner: But our Author may possibly hint at certain Acts of Uncleaness.

We

We entred the Country of these Barbarians, without Arms or Soldiers, accompanied only by some Christian *Indians* (our Guides and Interpreters.) Heaven was pleased to give greater Success to our Expedition than we had presumed to expect : More than twelve hundred soon coming out of the Forests, to assist us in laying the Foundations of our new Colony. Having never before seen Horses, or Men resembling us in Colour and Dress, the Astonishment they showed at our first Appearance among them, was a very pleasing Spectacle to us ; the Sight of us terrifying them to such a Degree, that the Bows and Arrows fell from their Hands. They seem'd quite beside themselves, not being able to comprehend how it was possible for such Monsters to come into their Forests ; imagining, as they afterwards own'd, that the Man, his Hat, his Clothes, and the Horse he rode upon, compos'd but one Animal ; and this by an astonishing Effect, the Cause of which they could not account for. In a Word, the Sight of so monstrous a Creature surprized them to such a Degree, that they stood motionless like Statues.

But one of our Interpreters removed the Doubts of these Savages, by informing them who we were, and the Motive of our Voyage. They declared, that we came from the other End of the World, with no other View than to teach them to know and serve the true God †. He afterwards gave 'em certain

† In how different a Light is this set in the following Relation. . . . The *Indian Chiraguanaes* inhabit the other Side of the Mountains of *Peru*. They are a very tractable People, and listen willingly to the Gospel ; but, at the same Time, are great Enemies to Labour. The Jesuits undertook their Conversion, and made a great Progress therein in a short Time. When the Fathers found that most Part of them were converted and baptized, and were of an ingenious and tractable Disposition, they resolv'd to acquaint them with the true Design of their Preaching,

tain particular Instructions which had been agreed upon between us ; instructions adapted to their Capacity

ing, which was not for the Sake of their Souls, but merely to enrich themselves. Accordingly they said, that being their Preachers, they therefore were desirous of residing among them ; but that they wanted some Lands to maintain themselves ; and therefore hoped they would assist them in planting Sugar Canes, in order that they might be able to live in a comfortable Manner.

By this the *Indians* plainly discovered the Avarice of the Jesuits ; and it confirmed them in the Opinion which all the *Peruvian Indians* entertain, that these Fathers are not Ministers of the Gospel ; but, on the contrary, upon Pretence of preaching the Law of Christ Jesus, that their only Aim is to set up a tyrannical Power, and to deprive the *Indians* of their Liberty ; for which Reason, they resolved to murder all these Fathers in the Night. Tho' the Jesuits had not been settled here long, they yet had contracted a great Familiarity with the Female *Indians*, who on the other Hand grew so fond of them, as to indulge them very strong Testimonies of it, to the Prejudice of the Duty they owed their Husbands and Relations ; they giving them Notice of the Design which their Countrymen harboured, viz. to kill them ; and gave 'em an Opportunity of making their Escape. Five of the Fathers got off, and came to the City of *La Plata*, where they declared, that the *Indians* had drove 'em away, and refused to hear the Gospel. Likewise that Father *Mendiola* had abjured the Christian Religion, and taken a Wife according to the *Indian* Ceremonies. They declared that the only Motive of their making this Information was, in order that a Body of Soldiers might be sent into the Country, to take *Mendiola* away by Force ; and that otherwise it would be impossible to convert these Heathens, because *Mendiola*, out of Fear of being punished, would persuade them to continue in their Idolatry ; and confirm them in it, by the ill Example he then set 'em, in embracing their Religion, tho' a Priest and Minister of the Gospel. For this Reason, they intreated Don *John de Elisarazo* to furnish them with Troops for that Enterprize : And to prove the Truth of what they asserted, they had stript *Mendiola* of his Gown, and declared that he was an Apostate. Don *John* judged that this Affair was of Consequence enough to merit some Reflection ; a little after which he sent a Letter by an express Messenger to *Mendiola*, desiring him to come to him, and assuring him of his Protection, and Absolution from his Crime. The Father was greatly surprized at the Perusal of this Letter, he never having entertained a Design of apostatising from the Faith, or of quitting the Society ; for which Reason he set out immediately

capacity concerning the Immortality of the Soul, the Duration of the Life to come, the Rewards which God promises them after Death, provided they keep his Commandments; and the dreadful Punishments with which he justly threatens such of them as should refuse to follow the Light which was sent, from so great a Distance, to irradiate their Understandings.

This made the wish'd for Impression. From that Day these poor People followed us as a Shepherd does his Flock, and promised to bring over a great many Thousand of their Friends. There is no Reason to suppose that they intend to deceive us. Already six very populous Nations, or rather a Nation inhabiting six great Forests, have sent Deputies to offer us their Friendship, and to desire ours; and promise to raise, in Conjunction with us, fix'd Habitations wheresoever we may think proper. We received these Deputies with all possible Demonstrations of Friendship, and sent them back with Presents†. These consist only of small Beads of Glass, of which they probably make Bracelets and Necklaces. Gold and Silver are far less esteemed in this Country; and had I but about the Value of forty

to enquire into the Affair....The Result was, *Mendiola* prov'd their Guilt, (confessing at the same Time his own) to the utter Confusion of the other Jesuits. He afterwards quitted their Society. *La morale pratique des Jesuites*, Tom. I. p. 257, & seq.

† 'Tis certain that one of the Things which the Jesuits labour most zealously at, on all Occasions, is to ingratiate themselves into the Affections of the common People; for which purpose, they often publish Letters which are false; they feigning therein, that their Affairs are in a very flourishing Condition, and that those of their Adversaries are the reverse; and sometimes conceal their ill Success, when 'tis for their Interest. They feign Histories relating to *Japan*, *Poland*, *Germany*, and *Rome*; and whenever it happens to be for their Purpose, they will invent News in the very Place where they reside, tho' they should be sure of being found Liars next Day; they not scrupling to run any Hazard, provided they can but obtain their Ends, which is to impose upon the People, and win their Favour. *Ibid.* p. 17.

or fifty Crowns in these Glass Beads, of all Sizes and Colours, (black excepted) they would invite Multitudes of these poor People, whose Friendship we afterwards might obtain, by Things of a more durable and more valuable Nature.

We have chosen for our new Habitation, a most agreeable Spot, very happily situated, in about fourteen Degrees South Latitude. To the South and East, is a Plain a great many Leagues in Length, planted, at certain Distances, with fine Palm-Trees. To the North is a broad River called *Cucurulu*, in the *Canisian* Language, and well stock'd with Fish. To the West are spacious Forests of odoriferous Trees, the Timber of which is very fit for Building; and these Forests are full of Stags, Fallow-Deer of every Kind, Wild-Boars, Monkeys and Birds. The new Town is divided into Streets and Squares, and the Fathers have a House there (as the rest of the Inhabitants) with a pretty large Chapel. We were the Architects of these several Buildings, which you may therefore suppose not to be in a very elegant Taste.

The Situation of this Country is such, that it must necessarily be exceedingly sultry. 'Tis an excessively hot Summer all the Year round, without the least sensible Variation as to Seasons; so that were it not for the Winds, which blow by Intervals, and refresh the Air a little, the Country would be quite uninhabitable. Possibly the *Europeans*, being brought up in the northern Countries, may be more affected with the Heat than the Natives. The fiery Air very often breaks out into furious Storms, and dreadful Claps of Thunder: and we are tormented Day and Night with Clouds of poisonous Gnats.

There is no more Bread and Wine here than are requisite for solemnizing Mass. The River and the Forest furnish us with all our Food, the only Seasoning to which is some Salt, when we can get

any; for often we have none, or very little. Our Drink is either Water, or the Liquors above mentioned. But the sweet Consolation which Providence indulges us, compensates for every Defect, either as to Delicacy or Conveniency; so that we live contented amid so great a Scarcity of Necessaries. Be assured, reverend Father, that I have not pass'd one disagreeable Day since my coming into this painful Mission; and 'tis certain that the Idea which I had form'd to myself of it, when I solicited to be sent into this Country, was much more uneasy to me, than the Experience of what I have to suffer has been painful. I here enjoy sweeter Sleeps, on the bare Ground, and in the open Air, than I ever was blest'd with, when lying on the softest Beds in *Europe*: So true it is, that fancied Evils torment us much more than real ones. Great Numbers of the Natives flock daily to us, in order to be instructed in the Christian Religion, and to be baptized.

Our Arguments against the Plurality of Wives, made so strong an Impression on them, that they all (three Families excepted) complied with our Arguments and Exhortations against that very prevailing Custom. We have been as successful in reclaiming them from Drunkenness. Some Women have already learnt to spin, and to make Linnen Cloth. Twenty of them now appear dress'd in their own Manufacture; and we have sowed so great a Quantity of Cotton, that, some Years hence, we shall have enough to cloath all our People. In the mean time they cover themselves with Leaves of Trees, till they may get some Thing better. In a Word, they pay the most implicit Obedience to all our Commands.

'Tis almost incredible that, in the Space of but one Year, a Savage Race of Men, who had scarce any Thing human about them but the Name and Shape, should yet have imbib'd Sentiments of Good-

nature and Piety, in so very short a Time. We already perceive a Kind of Dawn, as it were, of Politeness and Civility breaking forth among them. They salute one another whenever they meet; and make us, whom they consider as their Masters, low Bows; striking their Knees against the Ground, and kissing their Hands before they come up to us. They invite such *Indian* Strangers as travel through their Settlements, to take a Lodging with them; and exercise in the Midst of their Poverty, a Kind of liberal Hospitality, beseeching these Travellers to love them as Brethren, and to give them Proofs upon every Occasion, that they consider them as such. Hence there is Reason to hope, that, with the Grace of God, who has succoured us so much hitherto, we shall make of this People, not only a Church of true Christians; but likewise, before 'tis long, a City, and perhaps a Kingdom of Men, who may live together, agreeably to the most perfect Laws of Society.

As to the other Missions founded hereabouts within these ten Years, you are to know, reverend Father, that the Christian Religion is said to make a very great Progress in them, upwards of forty thousand Barbarians having already been baptized. The Churches are throng'd with Auditors, who all discover a most singular Modesty and an awful Reverence at their Approach to the Sacraments. Private Houses are frequently heard to resound with the Praises of God, and with the Instructions which the most fervent among them give the rest. Happening to be in one of these Missions, during Passion-Week, I had the Consolation to see in the Church, above five hundred *Indians*, rigorously chastizing their Bodies on Good-Friday, in honour of Jesus scourg'd. But a Circumstance, which forced Tears of Tenderness and Devotion from my Eyes, was the Sight of a Company of young *Indians* of both
Sexes,

Sexes, who, with Eyes cast humbly down, their Heads crown'd with Thorns, and their Arms stretched out on Stakes, disposed in the Form of a Cross, imitated for above an Hour, in this Posture, the painful Condition of the crucified Saviour, whose Image stood before their Eyes *.

I am, &c.

STANISLAUS ARLET, of the Society of Jesus.

Peru, from the Mission called by the Spaniards, Moxes, and by the Natives Canisia, 1 Sept. 1698 *.

* Volume III. of the Original begins here.

Father LE ROYER, Superiour of the Jesuit Missions in Tonquin, to Mr. LE ROYER DES ARSIX, his Brother.

Dear Brother, Tonquin, June 10. 1700.

I Have been eight Years in *Tonquin* †, a Kingdom, as you will find in all Maps, situated between *China* and *Cochin-China*. I arrived there, with Father

* 'Tis no Wonder that painted Images should make so deep an Impression on the Minds of a People quite ignorant and barbarous, since they are often found to work very strongly on Persons of Education in the most polite Countries.

† Father *Le Gobien* observes, (in his Dedication of the 3d Volume of this Work, in the Original, to the Jesuits of France) that *Tonquin* and *Cochin-China* form'd, during a long Course of Years, Part of the mighty Empire of *China*. He adds, that the Inhabitants of those two Countries, being dissatisfied with their Governours, who, by being at so great a Distance from their Monarch, frequently abus'd their Authority, made an Insurrection, elected a King from among their own Countrymen, and entirely shook off the *Chinese* Yoke. The two Kingdoms of *Tonquin* and *Cochin-China*, were governed, during many Centuries, by one Sovereign; and 'tis not but within about these two hundred Years that they divided, and had their particular Kings.

Father *Le Royer* was one of the fifteen Missionaries whom the King of France sent into *India*, with the Ambassadors of *Siam* in 1687, at the Request of the Monarch of the last mentioned

ther *Paregaud*, my Companion, the 22d of *June* 1692, after a very long and very dangerous Voyage.

The Mission of *Tonquin*, (a most flourishing one) was founded in 1627. The Fathers, by the Machinations of the *Bonzes*, were drove from it, but afterwards recalled. They were persecuted a second Time, and banished the Kingdom, ever since which they have been obliged to hide themselves. As therefore the Missionaries are not allowed Access to *Tonquin*, my Companion and I were forced to hide ourselves at our Arrival there. After crossing, with great Difficulty and Danger, the Province of *Tenboa*, we entred those of *Ngeam* and *Bochoim* *, on the Frontiers

Kingdom ; and was appointed Superiour of the first House settled in the Dominions of that Prince.

A Revolution happening in this Kingdom, the Jesuits were obliged to retire to *Pondicherry*, on the Coast of *Cormandel*. There they staid some Time, to wait the Event of the Affairs of *Siam* ; and to see whether it would be possible for them to return to it. At last they resolved to spread themselves over the neighbouring Countries, there to cultivate the established Missions, and to settle new ones. Some of these Fathers entered that of *Madura* ; others went into the Kingdom of *Bengal*, where they founded the Missions which the *French* Jesuits have now there. Some visited the Kingdom of *Pegu*, where they met with a Variety of Sufferings, which, at last, brought them to their End. Father *Le Royer*, pursuant to the Order which Father *Tachard* had received from Pope *Innocent XI.* of taking back the Jesuits into *Tonquin*, went into that Kingdom with Father *Paregaud*, whither they did not arrive till *June* 1692.

Carnata is a Mission established lately by the *French* Fathers, in the Peninsula of *India*, on the Model, and in the Neighbourhood of that of *Madura*, founded long since by the *Portuguese* Jesuits.

* I do not meet with this Province in our Maps, or in any of our Travellers. *Dampier*, who resided some Time in *Tonquin*, divides it into the eight Provinces following. I. *Tenan*, which chiefly produces Rice. II. *East Province*, whose Capital is *Hean*. 'Tis chiefly composed of Low-lands and Islands ; is inhabited mostly by Fishermen, has good Pasturage, is full of Cattle, and produces great Quantities of Rice. III. *South Province*, which also is very fruitful in Rice, and has fine Pasturage. IV. *Tenboa*. Part of its Inhabitants, and those of the Sea-coasts

Frontiers of *Cochin-China*. All the Christians in these Provinces were then in a very abandon'd State, and overjoy'd to see us. We afterwards went into *East Province*.

The *Tonquineze* are a sensible, polite and tractable People. 'Twill not be difficult to win them over to Christ, because they are not strongly attached to their Pagods, and have very little Esteem for the Priests of their false Deities. Their Manners are innocent enough ; and they are not acquainted with the gross Vices to which the other Nations of the East are very strongly addicted. The only Obstacle

in general, carry on a great Trade in Fishing. It likewise produces Rice. V. *Ngeam*, which abounds with Grass, Cattle, and Rice. VI. *West Province*. 'Tis a wide, flat Country ; its Soil is rich, and abounds with Grass and Wood. VII. *North Province*. This takes up a large Extent of Land, in which are seen a vast Variety of Mountains, Plains, and Wood-lands ; and here the greatest Number of wild Elephants are found. It likewise produces great Quantities of Silk and Lack. VIII. *Cachao*. This Province contains a great Diversity of Mountains and Low-lands, Woods and Champaigns ; is a vastly delightful Country, and produces great Quantities of Rice, Silk and Lack.

With regard to the *Tonquineze*, the best Travellers inform us, that they are of a tawny Complexion, well-shaped, and of a middle Stature. When about twelve Years old, they dye their Teeth black, or of a very dark Colour, which some ascribe to their Desire of not having their Teeth white like those of Brutes. Their outward Garment is a long Gown, tied with a Sash. The Quality wear Silk or English Broad-cloth, and the inferior People and Soldiers, Cotton Cloth, dyed of a dark Colour. 'Tis related, that no People are more sociable or humane than the *Tonquineze*. The trading Part of them are exceedingly courteous to Strangers, and very fair in their Dealings. But their Magistrates are said to be imperious, their Soldiers insolent, and their Poor very much addicted to Thieving ; for which Reason, Strangers are obliged to keep a very strict Eye over their Goods. They are able Mechanics, faithful and diligent when Servants, and exceedingly submissive, which some ascribe to the tyrannical Government they live under. They endure labour very patiently, but are greatly dejected in Sicknefs ; and all in general are so fond of Gaming, that they will play away their very Clothes.

to their turning Christians, is their allowing a Plurality of Wives ; their being permitted to put from them such as they don't like ; and the barbarous Custom of castrating Men. The plurality of Wives, and these Castrations, regard chiefly Persons of Distinction, to whom a great Number of Children is no Burthen, and who are desirous of raising them to the first Employments of the Kingdom. But 'tis not so with respect to the Right which Husbands have of putting their Wives from them, and taking another, when they are barren or ill-temper'd. This is a Custom established even among the common People, and is one of the greatest Obstacles to their Conversion. Nevertheless, the Christian Religion is in a very flourishing State in this Country.

As to my Way of Life here, and the Methods I employ in order to win over Souls, since you are desirous of being inform'd in that Particular, I shall give you a plain undisguised Relation of it ; such a one as becomes a Brother. Were we to appear ever so little in Public, we should easily be discover'd by our Complexion ; and therefore, to prevent the Persecution from increasing, we are obliged to conceal ourselves as much as possible. For this Reason, I pass whole Days, either shut up in a Boat, which I never leave, except in the Night, in order to visit the Villages lying near Rivers ; or retir'd in some lone House.

Whenever I visit the Christians, of whom there are vast Numbers upon the Mountains, and in the Midst of the Forests ; I commonly am accompanied by eight or ten Catechists, whom I am obliged to support entirely. These, like myself, have learnt to be contented with a little. We divide our Time in manner following ; I labour the whole Night, and that (as I can assure you) with very little Intervals. The Time I don't bestow in hearing Confessions, or in administering the Communion to those
confess'd

confess'd by me, is employed either in composing Differences, in settling Matters, or in resolving such Difficulties as my Catechists could not. After Mass, which I celebrate a little before Day-break, I return to my Boat, or to the House, which then serves as a Retreat to me. The Catechists, who sleep at Night, labour in the Day, during which I either pray, study, or repose myself. Their Business is, to preach to the Infidels, to exhort the old Christians, and to prepare 'em for receiving the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist; to dispose the Catechumens for Baptism, to visit the Sick; in a Word, to perform all those Offices which don't absolutely require the sacred Character of the Priesthood. After having visited one Village we go to another, or repeat the same Exercises; so that we are never unactive. In 1696, a new Persecution broke out against the Christians.

The great Distance we live from one another, my advanced Age, and the weak State of my Health, make me naturally suppose, that you and I shall never see one another more in this World. But what a Pain would it be to me, dear Brother, was I not persuaded that Heaven will look upon us with an Eye of Pity; and that both of us, obeying his holy Commandments, we shall be so happy as to meet, and live eternally with him? For this Purpose, permit me to put you in Mind of what I have so often inculcated, when we lived nearer one another.

I. Never suffer a Comparison to be made between Things relating to eternal Life, and those of this World. Of what Benefit would it be to a Man to gain (as our Saviour observes) the World, should he lose his Soul, or only hazard the losing of it to all Eternity. Stand in the utmost Awe of God, and never consent to do any Thing which may displease him. Accustom yourself to see your Creator with

with the Eye of Faith, as being a Witness to all your Words and Behaviour. Offer up to him all your Actions, do every one of them in the Design of pleasing him; consult him in all your Undertakings; and throw yourself with Confidence in the Arms of so good a Father: frequently implore this good Father to inspire you with the Love of him; and submit in all Things to his sacred Will.

II. With Regard to the Establishment of your House and Family, ever call to Mind that God is the Source whence all Blessings flow; that Probity, Sincerity, Rectitude, and an inviolable Attachment to the sacred Cause of Religion, are the only Things which can give Solidity and Duration to your Fortune. That Injustice, on the contrary, ruins our Character, and often destroys our Possessions. Be firmly persuaded, that the Prudence of Man is very short-sighted, (how proud soever he may be of his own Talents) when God abandons him to his own Conduct; and that his Abilities, on this Occasion, only plunge him into greater Errors. Though Heaven sometimes permit an unjust Man to prosper, he yet will not allow him to enjoy his ill-gotten Wealth long. That Family will soon be ruin'd, how ample soever its Possessions may be, which God has not an Eye over.

III. Do all the good in your Power, and never injure any Person. Avoid Law-Suits, as one of the greatest worldly Evils that can befall you; and preserve if possible all Harmony and Peace. As this Peace is a celestial Gift, frequently beseech God to indulge it you, because it can be enjoyed only by the Divine Favour. If you happen to be involved in any Contest or Law-Suit, extricate yourself to the best of your Power; but be sure never to employ Falshood or Tricking, though in Defence of your own Rights; for then Heaven would abandon you;
and

and your Ruin would be inevitable, though your Cause should be ever so just.

I am, &c,

ABRAHAM DE ROYER.

Father DE TARTRE, to Mr. DE TARTRE.

Canton, Decemb. 17, 1701.

Most dear Father,

I AM at last arrived in *China*, after employing near eight Months in our Voyage, which was very troublesome and dangerous. The first Thing I shall beg of you, after you have perused this Letter, is, to thank Providence for conducting me to this Land of Promise, which I for so many Years, had long'd to see. Our Voyage was singular on two Accounts: First, No Ship ever failed to *China* in so short a Time; we getting in less than five Months, within an Hundred and Fifty Leagues of that Empire. Secondly, No Ship ever found so much Difficulty in its Passage thither. Though we did every Thing, during upwards of four Months, that Industry can possibly effect, it yet was not in our Power to reach *Canton*, the Port where our Ship was to Winter. During all this Time we were either buffeted by Storms, or roving from one Island to another, expecting every Instant to suffer Shipwreck; thrice happy, after all these Perils, to meet with a Place, more than an hundred Leagues from *Canton*, where our Vessel could be sheltered from the Winds during Winter.

'Tis from thence that I came hither by Land, in order to join our Brethren, who had resided there ever since the Nativity of our Lady. For after our
having

having narrowly escaped being cast away the first Time, Father *De Fontaney*, finding the Ship advanced but very slowly, had embarked at *Sanchan*, on Board certain Gallies sent him by the Mandarins; and had brought with him Fathers *Porquet*, *De Chavagnac*, *De Goville*, *Le Coulteux*, *Jartoux*, *Franqui*, and Brother *Brocard**; Father *Contancin* and myself continuing on Board as Chaplains.

'Twas from this Time, especially, that my Companion and I, were exposed by Providence to the severest Trials. We have now made Death familiar to us; and the want of almost every kind of Succour, in the midst of the greatest Dangers, has accustomed us to put our Trust only in the Goodness and Mercy of Christ. To him we owe our having escaped Shipwreck twenty Times; for though our Captain, and other Officers, were Persons of the greatest Abilites and Experience, yet the Seas we were then upon were so unruly, and the Storms so violent, that all their Skill in Navigation was absolutely of no Service to them. God be ever praised for preserving me from so many Perils. We are now in Port, and I never enjoyed better Health than at this Time.

I had writ to you from the Island of *Goree*, near *Cape Verd*, where we met with some *French* Ships; and among the rest, with that of Captain *De la Rue*, whose Bravery and gallant Exploits, gained him so much Honour in the last War. As these Ships were to return soon to *St. Malo*, we put our Letters on Board them. If they are come to Hand, as we hope they are, you must have heard what befel us from *Port Lewis*, whence we sailed the 7th of *March* 1701, to *Cape Verd*, where we were at that Time.

* A subordinate Sort of Friars; such as are not in Priests Orders, the latter being called Fathers.

But hitherto we had seen only Pacific Oceans, except about Cape *Finistere*, where the Sea appeared formidable to such Persons as are not sufficiently inured to it. Hitherto we had suffered no more than what is felt by Landmen, whose Imaginations are not yet so far prepared, as to make them see unconcerned, the Floor which they walk upon sink; nor to live in Houses that turn with every Wind. Most of them escaped with feeling a violent Dizziness and the Stomach-ach, during five or six Days. Some were not afflicted so long. As to myself, I paid, in one Afternoon, all the Tribute I owed to the Sea; and whilst the rest were sick, and scarce able to stand, I was become a perfect Sailor; and from that Time was qualified to discharge the Office of Chaplain on board our Ship, as I have done ever since.

After doubling Cape *Finistere*, 'twas no more to us than an agreeable Airing of forty or fifty Leagues a Day, which we performed very easily by the Assistance of the Trade Winds. We daily sailed by some new Kingdom; and shifted from one Part of the World to the other in our Sleep. We made the Island of *Ferro*, where the *French* Geographers have fixed the first Meridian; and after beginning to take our Longitude from thence, we sailed directly for Cape *Verd*, whence we discovered, as early as the Morning of *March* 24, the two Hills called the *Teats*, or *Les Mamelles*, as the *French* call them.

As it was not possible for us to get into the Road in the Night, we frightened the People in the Fortrefs of *Goree*, as also two Vessels of *St. Malo*, which lay at Anchor near it. They imagined us to be Corsairs, or Enemies, who were come upon some ill Design in the Night; and on that Supposition, were preparing to receive us with a Discharge of all their Artillery; but Mr. *Oury*, our second Captain, went off in our Longboat, in order

der to quiet their Spirits, and inform them who we were.

I am surprized that, from the Time the *French* possessed themselves of the Island of *Goree*, under Marshal *D'Estrées* *, no one has yet thought of establishing a Mission in it. A great deal of good might be done, for there we should meet with Christians to reform; virtuous Catholics to entertain in Piety; Slaves belonging to the *French*, to instruct and baptize; Millions † of *Mahomedan* Negroes, more easy to be converted than those of any other Country: For as these People are instructed but very slightly in their Religion; and know no more of it, than what they are taught by their Maraboos, or Priests, who read to them a Sort of *Korran* ‖, not that of the *Turks*, but a Rhapsody of dull impertinent Fables; 'tis probable that they would attend much more willingly to the solid Truths of the Christian Religion, and be easily prevail'd upon to embrace it. They honour the Prophet *Mahomed*, and are very solicitous to get themselves circumcised. Most of them are fond of Magic; at least they purchase, at a very high Price, Covenants writ in mysterious Characters, called by them *Gris Gris*; and these they give as Preservative Remedies for Evils of every kind. One of these Negroes, after ten Years of Servitude, imagined himself sufficiently rewarded for all his Toil and Pains, in receiving one of these *Gris Gris*. He declared that the carrying it about him, made him Proof against a Sword or Gun: However he would not permit our *French* People to try the Experiment upon him. At our leaving this unfortunate Coun-

* He took it from the Dutch, November 1, 1677.

† The Word *Million*, must be employed for a great Number; otherwise our Father would be greatly out in his Computation; *Goree* being but a small Island.

‖ Improperly called the Alcoran.

try, every one of the Missionaries were deeply afflicted to think of the abandoned State of the unhappy 'Negroes: and would willingly have lived with them, in Hopes of winning them over to Christ.

We staid but a Week at Cape *Verd*, having as yet but little Occasion for Refreshment or Repose; not to mention that this is not a very good Place to lie in. *Goree* is a little Mand, where there is room only for a Fortrefs, and a few Inhabitants; and we scarce found Water enough to fill our Hogsheads.

The Cattle from the Continent are good for nothing, from the want of Grass; the Air being always of a fiery Temper, and the Soil barren. In the rural Parts we see Elephants, Stags and Apes. The Dwellings are only poor Huts covered with Reeds; the Inhabitants go almost Naked; their whole Dress consisting of a Piece of Cotton Cloth, with which they cover themselves from the Girdle to half way down the Thigh; the excessive Heat of the Climate, not permitting them to wear more Covering. Their only Food is Millet, they having no Wine, Corn, or Fruits. A surprising Circumstance is, these unhappy Creatures are nevertheless persuaded, that their Country is the Terrestrial Paradise. They would look upon it as highly injurious in any Person who should seem to compassionate them, and indeed they always appear with a gay and smiling Countenance; and was it not for the dread of the Club, which the *Europeans* are not sparing of, they would not change their Condition with that of the happiest Nation upon Earth.

These People are among those who imagine the Devil to be White; and who consider it as one of the Prerogatives of their Nation, to be the blackest People in all *Africa*. 'Tis certain this Colour is not disagreeable, when 'tis a deep and shining Ebony Black, as is that of most of their Faces.

We

We left *Goree* the 31st of *March*, with a favourable Wind. In less than two Hours we lost Sight of the whole Coast of *Africa*. The Governor of the Fortrefs had advised us to stand upon our Guard, as long as we should continue in those Parts; he having News, that some Corsairs were roving about *Gambia* and *Senegal*; but we had the good Fortune not to meet with any. Being in seven or eight Degrees of North Latitude, we were becalmed, and began to feel excessive Heats. The Sun was almost perpendicular, and we scarce felt a Breath of Wind. Our Officers would gladly have bathed themselves, but they were afraid, on Account of those large Fish called *Sharks* *, which are greedy of Human Flesh. We took a considerable Number of them. During Calms, they are generally seen following after Ships; but those we caught were scarce above six or seven Foot long, which is nothing to the Size of so many other larger Fish found in those Seas. We saw some *Grampus*'s above twenty Foot long. In fine, we now passed the Equinoctial, it being *Sunday*; and therefore, out of Respect to that sacred Day, we postponed, till the Morrow, the Ceremony to which the Sailors have very improperly given the Name of Baptism. 'Tis performed by Bathing, in a Tub, those who have not yet passed the Line; unless they give Money to the Crew, to save themselves from this disagreeable Ceremony,

* In *French*, *Requiem*s, so called, because when any Person is bit by them, the only Thing to be done is to sing the *Requiem*. We call them *Sharks*. They keep about the Mouth of Rivers, and are ever accompanied by several small Fish called *Pilots*; they swimming before, and conducting them to Places where they may meet with Prey. Father *Tachard* informs us that they are taken, but with Difficulty, by the Hook. The *Requiem*s (or *Requins*) are not of the oviparous kind; they being found, in the Belly of the Female, compleatly formed; and if cast into the Sea, they immediately swim well. They have three Rows of very sharp Teeth. Some imagine them to be the true *Remora*.

which

which for a long course of Years, has been considered as an indisputable Right.

From the Equinoctial to the Straits of *Java*, which is the first *Indian* Coast we made; that is, for the Space of above four thousand Leagues, we met with nothing remarkable; and our Voyage was very successful. We only were sometimes becalmed, during which the Currents drew us very near the Coasts of *America*. We also had stormy Weather in the Seas about the Cape of *Good Hope*, and off the *Needle-Bank*. We had not seen the Ocean so tempestuous till then; but were under no great Apprehensions, as we were at a considerable Distance from Land. Though the Winds were so furious, that the Sea ran Mountains high, we yet made fourscore or an hundred Leagues daily. This indeed was very fatiguing; but then how joyful were we to see ourselves advance so swiftly towards the wished-for Country. Farther, we diverted ourselves with Fowling and Fishing of a new Kind; we bringing down Fish that were flying, and taking Birds with the Angling-Rod. This, how extraordinary soever it may appear, is nevertheless true. Whenever any *Porpoises* * appeared out of the Water, and sprung forward, we struck them with Darts; and the *Boobies* †, (which are Birds) were taken on the Surface of the Water by Lines, to which a Bait was stuck. I never in my Life saw such Flocks of Birds, especially of *Boobies*, as in the vast Seas between the Cape of *Good Hope*, and the Island of *Java*. The Cold, which is sensibly felt in those Parts, after we are come out of the Torrid Zone, threw great Numbers of our Crew into the

* These are of the Whale kind, and are called, in Latin, *Orca*.

† These are called *Damiers*, in the Original: I have not found this Word in any of my Dictionaries; but I believe the Interpretation I have given of it is right.

Scurvy, of which three died in a short Time. The fear of Death inclined two of our Sailors, a *Swede* and a *Dutchman*, to listen more willingly to our Instructions, and afterwards to abjure the *Lutheran* Religion. At last we came in sight of *Java*.

In standing for that Island, we bore away above three-score Leagues too far Eastward. We there perceive Mountains as high as those of the *Voges**; but sailing back again towards the Mouth of the Straits of *Sunda*, the Lands appear lower, and we discover beautiful, wide Plains, interspersed with Groves, at Intervals; and embellished with a numberless Multitude of Cocoa Trees, Banana Trees, &c. I don't know whether this Country is really so beautiful as it appeared at a Distance; the Eyes of a Person confined in a Ship four or five Months being very deceitful. Every Land forms an agreeable Spectacle to him; a Rock on which he spies a little Green, gives him great Satisfaction. In a Word, no Scene can be more melancholy, than to see, during a long Time, no other Object but a Ship and the Ocean. We had been ordered to cast Anchor before *Princes* Island, to take in Wood and Water; and not before the Island of *Java*, which belongs to the *Dutch*; least they, assisted by five or six *English* Ships, and others of their own Nation, of which there are always some about *Bantam* and *Batavia* †, should offer to disturb us. Nevertheless

as

* Mountains which separate Lorrain from Alsatia.

† The *Dutch* are known to be extremely jealous of all *European* Ships, except their own, that come and trade in these Parts. "Should we enquire (says a useful *English* Author) into the Right the *Dutch* have to their pretended Dominions in these Parts, what can it be resolved into but Force? They have not so much as the Possession of the fortieth Part of those Countries, where they pretend to the Sovereignty both of Sea and Land; and yet if they meet with any Vessels belonging to those Countries, they search and plunder them; " and

as *Princes* Island is quite a Defart, and abounds with Tygers, it consequently was not a fit Place either for the landing our sick Men, or for furnishing us with Refreshments, which we now wanted. Thence we were forced to venture, (whatsoever might be the Consequence) to the Island of *Java*, and cast Anchor near a Settlement belonging to those Islanders.

A small Brigantine appointed to guard the Coast, first came up to us; and inquired, in the Name of the *Dutch*, who we were. To amuse the Captain, we desired him to go and get us some Oxen, Kids, Fowls, and other Refreshments; and said that we, in the mean Time, would go to the *Dutch*, whom we pretended were our good Friends. And now we put our sick Men on Shore, who were already beginning to bury themselves in the Sand, which is the quickest Remedy for the Scurvy; when on a sudden we perceived coming towards us, from behind a Point of the Island, a large Ship carrying *Dutch* Colours. Immediately we made a Waft of our Ensign, which is the Signal for those on Shore to return on Board; when the poor sick Creatures, who before could not put one Foot before another, found their Legs at the sight of a *Dutch* Ship, and ran back very nimbly to their own. The *Dutchman* made towards us; but perceiving that we did not once offer to move, nor condescend so much as to hoist one Flag, or even make any Signal to let him know who we were; he himself began to be afraid, and accordingly sheered off; probably for fear we should have forced him to do this, by dint of Cannon.

“and if they discover an Intention to Trade with any other
 “*European* Nation, frequently murder every Man on Board,
 “burn their Towns upon the Coast, and massacre the People.”
Salmon's Modern History, Vol. I. pag. 209. Col. I. London
 1739, 4to. Some think this Author is infinitely too partial with
 regard to the *Dutch*.

After having taken in Water, and some Provisions in the Island of *Java*, we set sail the very Evening of that Day with a pretty favourable Wind. The next Morning, by Day-break, we alarmed the *Dutchman*, who imagined that we were making towards him with all the Sail we could croud. Immediately he failed, in order, if possible, to get the Wind of us; but we contented ourselves with leaving him behind, that he might not give Advice of us at *Bantam*, before we should be got out of the Straits. The Calm kept us in one Place almost the whole Day, which gave Opportunity to a vast Number of little *Javan* Canoos, to bring us Fruits and Rarities of the Country, such as Cocoas, Bananas, Ananas, *Ramplimoutes* *, Monkies, and very curious Birds. I perceived, among others, some wonderfully-beautiful Partridges, and small Parroquets exceedingly pretty. The Plumage of these Birds, like that of fine Parrots, is intermixed with Red and Green; but they have three or four small Feathers rising on their Heads, like those of our Peacocks, and are but little larger than a Canary-Bird. When I saw the great Number of *Indians* turning and winding about our Ship, in the hollow of Trees which served them as Boats; when I observed the surprising Trees which lined the Shore on each Side; and indeed these Islands and Seas, whose barbarous Names I had read in the Life of *St. Francis Xavier*; I then began to find, in earnest, that I was got into a New World; and surveyed with the highest Pleasure, as far as my Eye could carry, the numberless Objects round me.

We failed very happily, and that in a very short Time, through the Straits of *Java* and *Banca*, which are two of the most difficult Courses in the Voyage to *China*; and we touched at the Island

* I have not been able to find out the *English* of this Word.
of

of *Polaure* *, where we resolved to take some little Rest. This Island is inhabited by *Malayans*, who profess the *Mohammedan* Religion. They are subject only to a Captain or Leader, whom they themselves chuse; and form a kind of Republic. The *Malayans* are Black, but not quite so dark as those of *Goree*. Most of them go almost naked, wearing only a Piece of painted Cotton or Taffety, which they throw over them a great number of Ways, in a negligent, but with a good Air. They all wear, at their Girdles, a kind of Dagger, which they employ, on Occasion, with wonderful Dexterity. They are naturally brave; and when they have taken their Opium, which fuddles them in some Measure, are very much to be dreaded; of which the *French* had a Proof, at the Rebellion of *Siam*. I was told that a *Malayan*, having been thrust into the Belly with a Pike, and thereby rendered unable to advance any nearer to his Enemy, who always kept off from him at the Distance of the Pike's Length; he forced it, with his own Arm, quite through his Body; and thus spitted, ran forward and killed the Man who had wounded him. This Story, if not true, is well imagined.

Being arrived before the Island of *Polaure*, the Governor desired the Captain of our Ship, not to permit his Crew to advance too far up the Island; he saying, that not above three or four Days before, a Pirate which hoisted *French* Colours, had plundered some of their Settlements; and that therefore there was Reason to fear that those Islanders, seeing our White Flag, might take us for the Villains in question; and, on that Account, attack Sword in Hand, such as should advance towards their Habitations. Whether this was true or no, we, to se-

* I almost take this to be *Pooleron*, but don't find it to agree very well with the Course our Jesuit was steering.

cure ourselves from the Resentment or Jealousy of those Barbarians, confined ourselves to a narrow Spot on the Shore, where we landed our Sick. There Refreshment of every kind were brought us from the Island, the Governor himself settling the Price of them. Commodities are not purchased here with Money, this being considered as useless; but with Iron, with which they make Tools to plough the Ground, to build Houses, and Weapons of War; and, having Iron, they scarce want any Thing but what their own Island produces. A whole Army of these *Indians*, coming from their Canoes, which are composed of only three Pieces of Wood, on board our Ship, with Provisions; we first offered them, by way of Payment, several small *European* Commodities; but these they contemned to such a Degree, that they would not even condescend to look upon them. We afterwards shewed these People other Commodities, which we imagined might be of more Service to them, as Hats, Shoes, and some Earthen Ware; upon which they fell a Laughing, to signify that they thought us very silly, to imagine they were liable to the same Wants with us. At last, one of our Company having shewed them the head of a large Nail, they instantly brought some of their Commodities in order to purchase it; all of them being Bidders on this Occasion.

I must confess that, during my Stay in this Island, I often wished I had the Gift of Tongues, to have an Opportunity of explaining to these poor *Malayans*, some Articles of our Religion. If we may form a Judgment of these *Indians*, from the Kindness they showed us, they could easily be prevailed upon to turn *Christians*. They are humane, familiar, sincere, and hearty. Theft is a Thing unknown among these People. I frequented them more than any other *European*, during our Abode

in that Island, I accompanying the Sick on Shore, at the Request of an *Englishman*, an Ensign, and chief Pilot of our Ship, who had the Scurvy, and reposed great Confidence in me. The Governor of the Island was so good as to lodge us both in his House. Words could never paint the Fondness which the Children of the Natives expressed for me; three or four of them sometimes flocking round me; caressing me as if we had been long acquainted; bringing me small Presents; and serving me as Guides whenever I wanted to go to any Place. The Governor of the Island even permitted one of our Fathers, and myself, to view all the interior Parts of the Island; we being very desirous to see whether there were not some Simples and Physical Plants in it, unknown to the *Europeans*. The Governor's Brother was so good as to accompany us every where. This Island consists mostly of five or six Mountains, there being but few low-Lands. We every where see Cocoa-Trees, planted much after the same manner as Vines in *Europe*; and the Settlements are dispersed up and down. One would conclude, on looking on the Island, and seeing neither Villages nor Towns in it, that it is quite a Desert; 'tis nevertheless vastly full of People, yet none of those who appear abroad are married Women, or Maidens; these, as in the rest of *Asia*, being commonly confined to their Houses.

We staid no longer in *Polaure* than was necessary for recovering our sick Men, most of whom were cured in a Week. We then set sail with a fair Wind; and, in a short Time, got to the Shoals of *Parcel*, a dreadful Rock above an hundred Leagues in Length.

It has been but too well known for the many Ships, which have been cast away there in all Times; and extends along the Coasts of *Cochin-China*. We did not think it safe to come nearer it than within

fourscore or an hundred Leagues. 'Tis scarce possible for those who are shipwrecked on these dreadful Rocks to escape with their Lives; and we hear but of seven or eight *Chineze* Sailors who brought News from thence, and that after a surprising Manner. Their Vessel being dashed to Pieces, they swam to some very small Islands or Rocks, which, in that Place, rose above the Surface of the Sea. This was only in Hopes of prolonging their Lives for a few Days, and they expected nothing but to be starved; however, Providence had an Eye to their Necessities, and did not abandon them in this sad Extremity. Flocks of Birds came and perched on these Rocks, and were so tame as to let themselves be taken by Hand. Nor were they in want of Fish; they needing but go down to the Foot of their Rocks, where they always met with Oysters or Crabs. Necessity, the Mother of all Inventions, had even taught them to make themselves Cloaths with the Feathers of those Birds, on the Flesh of which they fed. These poor People drank the Water which was sent them from Heaven; they, after a Shower of Rain, visiting the Cavities of the Rocks, and taking it out from them. In this Manner they subsisted eight Years; and returned to *Canton* not very long since. A Ship which was near dash'd to Pieces on the Shoals of *Parcel*, furnish'd them with Timber for making a kind of Float or Raft; upon which they, at last, dared to brave all the Dangers of the Sea; and they were so fortunate as to reach the large Island of *Ainan* *, whence they afterwards came hither.

After having doubled the Shoals of *Parcel*, we imagined ourselves secure from all Danger. We had not yet left *France* five Months; and were come almost to the Coast of *China*, we being but an

* Near *China*.

Hundred and fifty Leagues from *Canton*. There now remained only a little Airing or two as it were; so we all congratulated one another on the Success of our Voyage; our Pilots declaring, that no other *European* Ship had ever been favoured with so quick a Passage to *China*. But whilst every one of us was computing the Day on which we should arrive at the wished-for Port, Heaven was preparing to exercise our Patience, by Storms and Tempests for above four Months; so that we were to find infinite more Difficulty in entering *China*, than in sailing thither.

We were about the Gulph of *Cochin-China*, when one of those dreadful Winds, which infest the Seas of *China* and *Japan*, came rushing upon us. It first beat down our Bowsprit, and afterwards our Foremast, which, falling with a dreadful Noise into the Sea, carried away all the Sailors who were upon it. This was in the Morning; when I endeavouring to make up (by taking a little Sleep) the Time I had spent during the whole Night, in assisting our first *English* Pilot who was breathing his last. The Shock made by the Ship awaked me on a sudden, when immediately I ran to the Place whence the Noise came: But Heavens! what a Sight did I behold! an Assemblage of Masts and Yards floating in a confused Manner, and which the Waves drove every Instant on the Sides of our Ship; Ropes still fastened to them, and which the Sailors were cutting away, as quick as possible, with Axes; wounded Sailors who were imploring Succour, and beseeching us to lend them a helping Hand, to free them from the Sails in which they were entangled; and lastly, the entire Forepart of the Ship stript of its Rigging and its Anchors. I at first thought that the Prow or Head was staved, and we were sinking to rights, but I happily was mistaken. We drew nine or ten Sailors,
half

half-dead out of the Sea; and two were drowned. We immediately cut away the Fasts or Ropes of the broken Masts; and used our utmost Endeavours to keep up the Main-mast, which, by the Fall of the two others, had lost its chief Stays.

Whilst part of the Crew were thus employed, my Brother Missionaries and I animated such as were desponding through the Fear of sudden Death. We confessed them, implored the Assistance of Heaven; and exhorted every one to receive, from the Hand of the Creator, either Life or Death, as he might please to ordain. I thought that, in Quality of Chaplain, it behoved me to take more Pains than the rest; accordingly I ran up and down, exhorting such Sailors as were Working, to repent sincerely, and with the deepest Contrition, of all their Sins. The bare mentioning this was sufficient; the Sight of imminent Danger making the Arts of Persuasion less necessary. Nevertheless the Wind, which hitherto had come only in Gusts, now began to attack us with open Force; and to roar, in all its Fury, through the few Sails which were left us. The Main-top-mast could not withstand its Violence, but snapt in two, and fell on the Main-sail; and we were afraid that, as it struck upon it at every swell of the Sea, it would tear it to Pieces. Then the boldest Sailors climbed up to the Scuttle, to cut the Ropes by which it hung, which cost one Man his Life; and the Main-sail was lost, it being tore to pieces, as well as the Mizen-sail; so that we had not one Sail left to help the Ship during the Storm, but only some Tatters of the Sails and Ropes still hanging at the Yards; and which, rattling against the other, made such a dreadful Noise, as if every Part of the Body of the Ship had been shatter'd. The greatest Danger we were in was occasioned by the falling of the Main-mast; for the Storm was so furious, that the Main-mast

mast fell like the rest, as an hundred stronger Ones must have done. Round the Main-mast are four Pumps, which descend to the Bottom of the Ship. When the Main-mast falls on any of them, it bursts the lower Part of the Ship, and generally makes such a Cavity for the Water to run in at, as cannot possibly be stopt. Luckily for us, ours fell in such a Manner, as if its Fall had been directed. A Moment after, the Pilot's Cabin was carried off by the Wind. In short, we met with some new Disaster every Moment.

To pacify the Wrath of Heaven, and procure ourselves the Protection of the holy Patrons in whom we confided; I was desired to offer up two Vows in the Name of the whole Crew. First for *Canton*, with Regard to which they promised that, in Case they got safe thither, to celebrate, in Honour of St. *Francis Xavier*, a Votive Mass, at which the whole Ship's Company should assist. The other Vow related to *France*, with Respect to which we bound ourselves, in Case of our Return thither, to set up, in some Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, a large Picture representing the Storm we had been in *, as an eternal Monument of our Gratitude;

* Tis well known that this Practice is borrowed from the Antients. In that delightful Ode, entitled *Pyrrha*, in *Horace*, the Poet speaking metaphorically of his lucky Escape, from the destructive Blandishments of that charming Deceiver, says as follows:

*me Tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo.*

“ My Garments in the Fane display'd,
“ As Trophies that my Vows are paid,
“ Own the great Ruler of the Sea,
“ Author of my Delivery.

*Mr. HORNECK.
and*

and to inform Posterity of the Power to which we had Recourse in such imminent Danger.

'Tis not in vain that Persons invoke the Name of the Mother of God, nor that of the great *St. Francis Xavier*, in Seas which their Miracles have made so famous. No Ship was ever buffeted more during Twenty-four Hours, which was the Time the Storm lasted. An hundred Times the Billows rushed with such Impetuosity against the Sides of our Ship, that we could expect nothing but her beating to Pieces; an hundred Times we dreaded the being buried under Mountain-like Waves, which the Winds raised and broke on our Decks. In fine, 'twas a Miracle, as we were drove along by the Rapidity of the Currents and the Fury of the Storm, in a Sea filled with Rocks, the Points of which reached almost to the Surface of the Water, that we did not strike upon some of them. Next to the Mercy and Compassion of our Saviour, we owe our Deliverance to the Intercession of the Blessed Virgin, and the Apostle of the *Indies*.

It being now a Calm, we put up new Sails, &c. which was but a miserable way of refitting our Ship. Nevertheless we made shift to advance in our Course; and even struck Terror into a *Portuguese* Ship that followed us for some Time at a Distance; but which did not dare to advance forward, till she found we were not in a Condition to follow her. At last we discovered *Sanchan*, which we would gladly have put into. The Favour which *St. Francis Xavier* had so lately indulged us, called upon us to go in Pilgrimage to his Grave. But we had not then an Opportunity to do this, as the Wind was fair; and it was necessary for us to arrive with all the Diligence possible at *Canton*, before the changing of the Monsoons,

We

We advanced as far as the Islands *Ladrones* *, at the Mouth of *Macao*. Had we been favoured with a fair Wind, we might have reached the Port in four Hours ; but we were now stopped by a sudden Calm, and Providence was pleased to expose us to fresh Trials. About the Evening we perceived huge Billows rolling Eastward, a Sky all fiery and red with Clouds, an irregular Roaring of the Tide, and the Winds blew only by sudden Gusts, all fatal Presages of an approaching Hurricane. We had sent our Long-boat to a *Portuguese* Ship, in Order to procure a Pilot acquainted with these Parts, who might conduct us, as soon as possible, to some Harbour belonging to the Islands thereabouts. The *Portuguese* Captain sent only this Answer, that as soon as he himself should be got to *Macao*, he would send us one, with Boats to tow us along ; after which he went and sheltered himself under the neighbouring Islands. Our Ship drew too much Water to follow him, for which Reason we resolved to put into *Sanchan* ; our Pilots being acquainted with, and having sounded its Coasts, in the preceding Voyage.

Accordingly next Morning, the Seas and Skies being more tempestuous than before, we weighed Anchor and put back towards *Sanchan*. We then could perceive a little of the Sky, but the Wind roared with still greater Fury. We now might have surveyed those wonderful Swells of the Ocean, mentioned by the Prophet ; it raging with all its Fury in a few Moments. But we were not composed enough to contemplate the Wonders of so dreadful a Spectacle ; and 'tis in reflecting on it,

* These Islands, which lie in the Entrance of the Gulph of *Macao*, are very different from the Islands *Ladrones*, which were called (from the Name of the late Queen of Spain, *Mary Anne of Austria*,) *les Isles Marianes* ; the History of which was published not many Years since.

at this Time, that we cannot forbear praising and fearing its Author.

The Hurricane made dreadful Havock both within and without the Ship; tearing away our Sails like so many Cobwebs; our Sail-yards were snapped to Pieces; and all our Masts, which now consisted wholly of Pieces of Wood ill joined together, fell to Pieces every where; so that we had no sooner endeavoured to secure one Part but we were forced to fly to another. The Sailors in the Long-boat called to us for Help. At every Billow which raised them aloft they imagined themselves gone; because the Ship, which went with such prodigious Rapidity from the Summit of this Mountain of Water, dragged them downwards, and that as swift as Lightning, towards the Stern of our Ship. The Officers, standing in the Gallery, did all they could to cheer them. In the mean Time a gloomy Silence reigned every where; Fear seemed painted on the Faces of the Ship's Company, and was but too expressive of the Agonies they felt. 'Tis certain nothing could be more dreadful than to be near the Land, and overtaken by a Storm in such a battered Vessel. But the Circumstance which struck the greatest Terror was, to find ourselves near *Sanchan*, and yet unable to shelter ourselves in any Part of that Island.

There are three Bays here to the South. The two first were too narrow and unsafe; and at the Entrance of the Third there appeared a kind of Range of Rocks, so that the Pilots were afraid of venturing among them. However, Mr. *De la Rigaudiere*, contrary to the Opinion of every one, imagining that these supposed Rocks were merely the ebbing of the Tide, obliged us to sail through them boldly; and, by that Means, procured a Shelter which we should have sought for elsewhere in vain. We then cast Anchor, though we did not think

think ourselves quite out of Danger. We still continued to toss during two Nights; and were not secure till a *Chineze* Pilot of *Sanchan*, made us cast Anchor in Sight of St. *Francis Xavier's* Sepulchre. We saluted it, at our Arrival, with five Pieces of Canon; and afterwards sang *Te Deum*, with the Litanies of the holy Apostle. Father *De Fontaney*, dressed in his *Chineze* Habit as Envoy from the Emperor, performed the *Koteoo* before it, that is the Kneelings and Prostrations used in *Cbina*, when an extraordinary Honour is paid to some Person. This was done in the Presence of several *Chineze* of *Sanchan*, who appeared all in Ecstasy; and were overjoyed at their possessing the Sepulchre of a Man who was so highly venerated by the *Europeans*.

The Danger we had just escaped (for our Officers were of Opinion, that the Day we lost our Masts was not to be compared to it) made Mr. *De la Rigaudiere* resolve not to hazard any longer our Ship, as our Masts and Rigging were in such a miserable Condition, in so tempestuous a Sea. Thereupon we held a Council; when it was agreed that Father *De Fontaney*, accompanied by the Directors of the *Chineze* Trade, should go by Land to *Canton*, to request Assistance from the Mandarins; that our People, without waiting till the Ship was got thither, should set about making new Masts, and work at the Cargo, in Order that she might be enabled to return to *Europe* in *January*. Father *De Fontaney*, before he left us, went and said Mass in the Chapel which our *Portuguese* Fathers had built, the Year before, over St. *Francis Xavier's* Grave; and afterwards embarked for *Quanhay*, whither he arrived on St. *Laurence's* Day. He sent us from that City, which stands four or five Leagues to the North of *Sanchan*, a Galley of Twenty four Oars; to give us an Opportunity during his Absence, of visiting whenever we might think proper, the

the Sepulchre of the Apostle of the *Indies*, there to catch some Sparks of a truly Apostolical Zeal. This we endeavoured to do, during almost three Weeks; for so long we lay at Anchor here, at two Leagues Distance from the Sepulchre. We went thither frequently to solemnize Mass; and had the Consolation to see the whole Ships Company flock thither, in Honour of the Saint, and to receive the holy Communion. The Chapel built by the *Portuguese* Jesuits is pretty enough; 'tis only of Par- get, a white Lime Plaister; but the *Chineze* have spread a red and blue Varnish over it, which has made the Inside very neat and lively.

As to the Island of *Sanchan*, it did not appear so well cultivated, nor so populous as has been published; we having had full Leisure to survey it, both within and without, for almost two Months, during which we coasted about the Neighbourhood thereof. *Sanchan* is near fifteen Leagues in Circumference; and contains three or four Villages, most of whose Inhabitants are poor Fishermen. They sow, round their Settlements, a little Rice for their Subsistence, which, with Fish, is their only Food. They always go a fishing in Companies; so that, at a Distance, their Vessels appear like a little Fleet. Our *Portuguese* Fathers, since their building the Chapel, have converted some Inhabitants of the Island. The Fathers intend to settle a Mission in the City of *Quanhay*, which is but four or five Leagues Distance, as was before observed; and whence such of our Fathers as may reside there, will make Excursions to *Sanchan*, and the neighbouring Islands. Thus they hope that this Place, sanctified by the Death of the Apostle of the *Indies*, will no longer be prophaned by the Worship of Idols, but soon abound with fervent Christians.

One Morning about the End of *August*, there came three Gallies whereon we saw Streamers, Flags, Standards, Lances, Pikes, Tridents, and particularly large Lanthorns, round which were writ in *Chinese* Characters, the Titles of the Emperor's Envoy. From amidst a Croud of Rowers, and *Chinese* Soldiers, was heard a Concert of Musick, composed of a Copper-Bell, and of Cornets or small Shawms, which serv'd as a Base to a Fife and two Flutes of that Country. 'Twas Father *De Fontaney*, with his whole Retinue of *Tagen*, or Envoy from the Emperor. The Circumstance which gave us the greatest Pleasure was, their bringing us new Masts and Yards, which, though weak, might yet enable us, during the Time that the Main-mast was getting ready, to make the fifty Leagues from *Sanchan* to *Canton*. Whilst these were putting up, Father *De Fontaney* received a Visit from the Mandarin of *Quanbay*, which was performed according to the *Chinese* Ceremonies; and the Ship's Company went, for the last Time, and paid their Devotions to the Sepulchre of *St. Francis Xavier*.

That very Evening we weighed Anchor, the three Gallies accompanying us by way of Honour rather than out of Necessity. Father *De Fontaney* would have sent them to wait for us at the Mouth of the River of *Canton*; but the Currents, the bad Weather, the contrary Winds, and the Storms, not having permitted even the *Amphitrite* to go above a League from *Sanchan*, in the Space of ten Days, he resolved to employ those Gallies to carry the Missionaries to *Canton*. The Business now was to appoint a Chaplain on board the *Amphitrite*. As none of the Missionaries was more vigorous than myself; not to mention that I had acted as Chaplain ever since our Departure from *Europe*; Father *De Fontaney* left me and Father *Contancin* in the Ship. Accordingly we took leave of our dear

Companions, who embarked with Father *De Fontaney*; and arrived happily, in three Days, at *Canton*.

As it was not yet the Season for the Easterly Winds to blow, we were in Hopes that the *Amphitrite*, by the help of the Tides, might make shift to reach *Canton*, as she had done the foregoing Voyage; but she was not then in so shattered a Condition. In the mean Time we exerted the utmost Efforts of Labour and Art. We got every Thing ready for sailing several Times in the Day, on which Occasion we sometimes went forward and often backward; so that we advanced in three Weeks Time, no farther than *Nicooko*, seven or eight Leagues from *Sanchan*. Mr. *De la Rigaudiere* observing this Voyage to be so very tedious, wrote to *Canton*, desiring that we might be there met by a *Chinese* Barge, to take on board the Presents sent to the Emperor, and likewise the Effects belonging to the *Chinese*-Company *. Father *De Fontaney* was preparing to comply with Mr. *De la Rigaudiere*'s Desire, when there arose a third Storm, more dreadful than the two preceding Ones, which exposed us to all the Calamities (the being Shipwrecked excepted) that can possibly befall Persons at Sea.

I begin to be weary, dear Father, of entertaining you with nothing but a Relation of Storms; for which Reason I would not mention this, was it not of a very peculiar Sort. What must be done on this Occasion? I am not writing a Romance in which the Author is at Liberty to diversify Adventures at Pleasure, merely for the Amusement of his Readers. I am giving an Account of those with which it pleased Heaven to buffet us; and would not trouble you with it, was I not sensible that the

* The *French East-India* Company, I suppose.

Affection you bear me, makes you desirous of knowing the most inconsiderable Circumstance of whatever befel me at so great a Distance. We were then, as I before observed, seven or eight Leagues to the East of *Sanchan*, opposite to the Island of *Nicooko*, advancing a little forward every Day, spite of the contending Winds and Tides; when a Hurricane, or rather one of those Storms formed by all the Winds united, which are used to rage in the Sea of *China*, drove us at above forty Leagues Distance.

We had some Presages of the Storm, for which Reason Mr. *De la Rigaudiere* would willingly have run the Ship into a tolerable good Harbour, to the North of *Nicooko*. We had founded it two Days before, when we went to bury our *English* first Pilot: but the *Chinese* Pilot, who then had the whole Direction of the Ship's Course, laughed at us for being afraid; and promised that on the Morrow a Wind must spring up, which would carry us into the Port of *Macao*. A Captain is forced to rely on the Experience of Coasting Pilots. The pretended Skilfulness of this Man hindered our weighing Anchor, but we soon had cause to repent it. We now had pretty good Sea-room, when, about Eleven at Night, there arose a furious North Wind, accompanied with Rain, which made us chace on our Anchors, and drove us still farther from Shore. Every Man on Board was forced to rise out of Bed; it raining within the Ship as well as without. We prepared, during the Night, every Thing necessary for enabling us to put into some Port where we might lie secure; but in the Morning, it being a very rough Sea, it was impossible for us to weigh Anchor; so that we were forced to cut away the Cable, and leave it. We now had no longer Thoughts of putting into the Port of *Nicooko*, the Wind blowing from that Quarter; for which Reason we resolved

to return to our former Station in *Sanchan*; but, in our Passage thither, our Main-sail was torne; soon after which our Fore-mast broke, and the Mizzen-sail fell down. We made all the Diligence possible to supply their Places with new Ones; but the Winds, in the Seas of *China*, are not like those in other Parts. It was impossible for us to keep one single Sail up; so that, at last, we were obliged to abandon ourselves to the Mercy of the Winds, and go whithersoever Providence might drive us.

To add to our Calamity, the Sky grew so black, and the Shower fell so thick, that we could not see our Way. We nevertheless were now got into a Place where there is no Passage; there being Lands, to which the Winds drove us, on all Sides. But how could we avoid them, it being scarce possible for us to do this, turn which way we would. And now Mr. *De la Rigaudiere* ordered a new Main-sail to be put up at all Adventures, to serve us upon Occasion. We soon spied Land which did not appear to be above a quarter of a League Distance; but it proved to be a Cluster of Rocks. The Waves dashed so furiously against these, that we thought it would be impossible for us to get a-shore upon them; and yet this was the only Place where we thought we could put into. Every one of the Ship's Company imagined himself lost; accordingly all prepared for Death, and nothing was heard but Cries for Succour. Several Persons confessed themselves to us; after which, recommending ourselves to God's Mercy, we ran from Place to Place, to prepare the rest for the last sad Hour. We were just lost, being come almost within Musket-shot of a dreadful Rock, at the Point of an Island called *Ootchew*; we endeavoured to tack about and get clear of it, waring the Ship by the help of the Main-sail: but as the Canoo and Long-boat were a Hindrance to this Motion, we cut away their Fast,

after

after saving the Lives of those who were in them. The Main-sail was again torne in several Places; but there being three or four Gusts of Winds thro' her, this made us chop about, by which Means we got clear of the Point of *Ootcbew*. Afterwards coming to the Leeward of that Island, we were no longer afraid of it; but then there was a multitude of others, and this was but the beginning of the Storm. As we could scarce see, though it was Noon-day, by Reason of the Blackness of the Sky, and the violent Showers of Rain that fell, we were forced to make Use of the sounding Line every Moment, in order to find, by the Depth of Water we were in, whether we came near the Islands or some Rock. The only Refuge now left us was a large Anchor, which our People intended to throw out, though we should be but in ten or twelve Fathom Water; but all the Anchors in the World are but of little Service in such Extremities. We were struggling with Winds and Waves, which roared out in all their Fury; and did not know where we were, nor whither we were going. All we were certain of was, that we were among Rocks, and surrounded with Dangers. We again had Recourse to the Power who commands the Seas and Winds; and being wholly resigned to whatever Fate he should please to allot us, we humbly besought him not to be forgetful of his former Mercies.

After the narrow Escape we had been indulged at *Ootcbew*, I had made a Vow, at the Request and in the Name of the whole Ship's Company, to St. *Anne of Auray*, a little Town in *Britany*; where that Saint is honoured in a particular Manner by Mariners who have been a long Voyage. They promised, in Case of their return to *France*, to walk to that Town, and there pay their Devotions in the famous Chapel dedicated to the Saint in

Question. Vows of this kind are always made with Tears, and strong Indications of the deepest Remorse. We had no Occasion to excite the Devotion of the Mariners, they first beseeching us to go to Prayers. The most fervent among them brought such of their Mess-mates as were newly converted, in order for them to confess their Sins; and some of them who, for eight or ten Years, had not come near the Lord's Table, and were Catholicks merely out of secular Views, become sincere Converts, and have since led the most pious Lives. There were then with us two Missionaries, Messieurs *Bafset* and *Besnard*, belonging to the Foreign Missions, who happened to be on Board our Ship, when we were surprized by the Storm near *Nicooko*. As neither they, Father *Contancin*, nor myself were to return to *France*, we four agreed to make a Vow in Honour of our Guardian Angels *. 'Twas their Festival on the Morrow. We therefore besought them to be our Guides in this imminent Danger; and 'twas certainly owing to their Assistance, and that of *St. Anne of Auray*, whose Aid the Sailors had invoked, that we got clear of it at last.

During the remainder of the Day, and the whole Night following, the Winds and Seas waged furious War. About Midnight, finding not above twelve Fathom Water, we threw out the only great Anchor left us. Words could never express the Violence with which our Ship was tost. Figure to yourself a furious Lion, who strives to break his Chain, and at last gets loose. At five in the Morning the Cable, though a new one, broke; and we found ourselves more exposed than ever to fresh Dangers. We debated whether it would be better

* A Guardian Angel is supposed to be a Celestial Being, whom God has appointed to watch over every Person; in like manner the *Platonists* imagined every Person to be under the Conduct of a particular *Genius*.

to put out to Sea, at the hazard of being carried, by the Currents, toward the Island of *Ainan*; though we perceived by our Charts, that this Island was surrounded with Rocks and Sands: or whether we should coast it, and run a-ground at the first favourable Place we might meet with, to save our Lives and Part of the Cargo. Every one was for the latter. In the Morning we discovered Land at a pretty great Distance from us; however, that we might have an Opportunity of chusing the Place where we might be wrecked upon, we spread all our Sails, in order to be the better able to manage the Ship; but most of them were torne to Pieces; the Storm no ways decreasing, and not allowing us a Moment's Rest.

At last we came in Sight of three Shores, one of which was that of *China*; and the others of two craggy, desert Islands. The Business now was, to consider upon which of these Places we should run a-ground. Those who were most earnest to save themselves, desired that we might steer directly for the Coast of *China*; but the Ship could not be saved by this Means, and would infallibly have dashed to Pieces against the Rocks, which appeared in our Course thither, within a little more than half a League from the Shore. Mr. *De la Rigaudiere* took a more prudent Resolution; he made us tack about to that Island which projected the farthest into the Sea; not doubting but we should meet, on the back of this Island, with a good Shelter and a fit Place for anchoring. Heaven was so gracious as to check the Fury of the Winds that Instant. We embraced the favourable Opportunity; and with only the Sprit-sail, fixed to the Trunk which remained of the Fore-mast, and the Mizen-sail, we bore away through the middle of the Canal lying between these two Islands; sounding all the Way, till we might find a Bottom, and a calmer Sea, to

the Leeward of the last Island. There we cast Anchor with only a pretty small One. The next Day we got every Thing ready in order to get more Sea-room; we perceiving, that when the Tide was out, the Rudder almost dragged, and had like to have broke by striking against the Ground.

We did not know whereabouts we were, and had neither Long-boat or Canoo to go upon the Discovery. We fired several Cannon to inform the *Cbineze* of our Distress, and to let them know how greatly we wanted their Aid. Nothing appeared for two Days. However, we imagined we saw, with our Telescopes, all along the Coast, fine Harbours, walled Cities and Pagods. Having no Long-boat or Canoo to go on Shore with, we made, with Pieces of old Masts and broken Oars, a kind of Raft. The Building of this was very easy, and did not take up much Time. As we were making Trial of it, and essaying whether it would be possible for us to brave the Rocks and Sea-Monsters in so rough and mishapen a Vessel, some *Cbineze* Barks appeared. 'Twas the Mandarin of War *, who, hearing our Guns, sent to enquire who we were. These *Cbineze* informed us, that we were in the Road of *Tien-pay*; that the Island before which we had cast Anchor was called *Fan-ki-chan*, or the Island of Hens; so termed because it was a Custom

* In French 'tis, *le Mandarin d'Armes*. There are nine Orders of Mandarins, and of these the chief are first, the Judges in Causes both Criminal and Civil; Secondly, Those who superintend the Treasury and Revenues; and, Thirdly, Such as command the Militia or Soldiery. These several Mandarins, though subordinate on many Accounts to the Viceroy, are yet a Check upon him. The Name Mandarin was given, by the *Portuguese*, to the *Eastern* Nobility, called *Koan*, or rather *Coben*, signifying, to serve, and be the Minister of a Prince. The nine Orders of Mandarins, or Degrees of Nobility, are distinguished by certain Animals, as Badges. Those of the first Rank have a Stork, the second a Lion, the third an Eagle, &c. There are

of the *Chineze*, whenever they failed that Way, to leave some Hens on the Island in Question, in honour of an Idol they worship, in order to obtain a favourable Wind. They added, that within a League from thence, up the Country, was the City of *Tien-Pay*: That the Name of the Mandarin in Question was *Litoo-sse*; and that he arrived there not long before from *Macao*.

At the Name of *Litoo-sse* we all shouted for Joy; and thanked Providence for being so gracious, in the Height of our Calamities, as to put us into the Hands of the best Friend the *French* are favoured with in *China*. This Nobleman, when Mandarin of War in *Macao*, had shown them the greatest Kindness, and served them to the utmost of his Power; which coming to the ear of the Company of *China*, in *France*, they had sent him, by Mr. *De la Rigaudiere*, a fine Sabre, as a Present. Messieurs *Basset* and *Besnard*, who could speak the *Chineze* Language, were deputed to that Mandarin, to request him to send us a good Pilot, who was acquainted with the Coast; to favour us with 'Boats to supply the Place of our own; with Provisions, our Biscuit having been spoiled by the Sea-Water; and with Lime, to mend our Oven which was beat to Pieces by the rolling of the Ship; in fine, with Messengers to carry News of our Arrival to the Directors of Trade in *Canton*, as well as to Father *De Fontaney*, all whom we knew would be vastly uneasy, not to find us either in *Nicooko* or *Sanchan*.

are in all Thirty-two or Thirty-three Thousand Mandarins, in *China*. There are Literary Mandarins, and Mandarins of War, who all go through various Examinations. The Mandarins are obliged to abstain from certain Pleasures. Almost the only Diversion permitted them, is to spend some Time with their Wives, a Plurality of these being allowed in *China*. Since the *Tartars* have possessed themselves of *China*, most of the Tribunals have two Presidents, there being but one formerly, viz. the one a *Tartar*, and the other a *Chineze*. See Father *Le Comte*.

Litoo-sse

Litoo-sse the Mandarin granted us, in the most obliging manner, whatever we requested. And, in order that he might do our People all the Service possible; he sent three Gallies to pay us his Compliments, and to offer us his House in Case we thought proper to go on Shore; but he shewed infinitely more Zeal, when he found that there were magnificent Presents, on board our Ship, for the Emperor. His Head, at least his Fortune would have been in Danger, had these happened to have been lost in his Jurisdiction; for the Government forms a Judgment in *China*, more than in any other Country, of the wise Conduct of Persons in public Employments from their Success; and Mandarins are often punished for unhappy Accidents, though not owing to any Fault of theirs. For this Reason he sent, with all possible Expedition, Expresses to the Mandarins, his Superiors; to the Vice-Roy of *Canton*; to the *Tsong-too*, who is as Governor of two Provinces, as well to receive their Orders, as to disburthen himself of part of the Care and Anxiety he was under on our Account. Whilst he, in Conjunction with them, was concerting Measures for our Conveniency; we met with another Misfortune, even in the Road of *Tien-Pay*, which gave both him and us a great deal of Uneasiness.

As the Island of *Fan-ki-chan* had proved an Asylum to us, towards the End of the late sad Storm, we imagined we might winter about it. We had moored our Ship there with only three poor, small Anchors left us; and unrigged our Ship as if we were lying in a secure Port. We now resolved to build a little Hospital, for the Sick, in the Island; when God was pleased again to draw, out of the Treasures of his Wrath, one of those furious Hurricanes with which we had been buffeted more than once. It must be confessed, that we were cast down and humbled beneath the powerful Hand of Heaven.

Heaven. Hitherto I had survey'd the several Tempests with a tolerably serene Eye. The good Effect they had wrought on our Ship's Company, by awakening the Remembrance of the wholesome Counsels, with which we had endeavour'd to inspire them during the Voyage, more than paid all the Fatigues I had undergone; and I exhorted them to suffer with Patience, in Hopes that Heaven would soon put an End to all our Disasters. But finding the Storm break out again from Time to Time, without so much as allowing us a Weeks Respite, I now could only exhort our People to be resigned to the heavenly Will. Buffeted again by this new Tempest, our Lives now hung, as it were, by weak Cable-Ropes; these sometimes rending in our Sight; so that we were forced to mend them every half Hour. Had they broke away, as in the last Tempest, we did not know where to run a-ground; for as the Wind blew with dreadful Fury, even from the Island of *Fan-ki-chan*, we consequently were shut out from that Coast; and we must have perished in the midst of the Road of *Tien-Pay*; all that Quarter being full of Shoals and Banks, above a League and half from Land, whence, in all Probability, not a Soul of us would have got ashore. These Alarms continued above Four and Twenty Hours; and no Day ever appeared so long to me. The Circumstance which disturbed me most, was, not a Sense of the Danger I myself was in; for Thanks to Providence, the Trials I had undergone had prepared me for every Event; and I really believe I could willingly have suffered Shipwreck, could I, like *Jonas*, have saved the whole Ship's Company. But I was grieved and afraid, lest Heaven should not be so indulgent as to deliver so many poor Creatures, who had invoked him so zealously; and that a Ship loaded with the several Things necessary for our Mission, should be lost in Sight of the Port. I nevertheless
sub-

submitted myself to whatever Providence might decree, which amidst so many Trials, had not yet quite abandoned us.

Whilst we were thus combating against the Winds and Waves, *Litoo-sse* the Mandarin stood upon the Shore, half dead, for fear lest we and the Presents which had been sent to the Emperor, should be buried under the Waves. As soon as the Sky cleared up a little, he went on *Tien-pay* Hills, whence he surveyed our Motions through a Telescope. The instant he spied us, he sent out a Vessel and a petty Mandarin; intreating us to come into the Port of *Tien-pay*, in order to secure both ourselves and our Ship. At the same Time we had dispatched Father *De Fontaney's Sian-kong* * to *Tien-pay*, requesting that Mandarin to send us Vessels; the Council having resolved to cast Anchor before the Island of *Fan-ki-chan*; and even to convey as much of the Ship's Cargo as possible to *Tien-pay*. For this Purpose *Litoo-sse* got together all the Vessels, Gallies, Barges, and Fishing-Boats, he could find in the Port of *Tien pay*, and sent them to us. We were surprized at seeing this little Fleet come so speedily to our Assistance. The first Question we asked the *Chineze* Pilots was, whether the *Amphitrite*, as she drew seventeen Foot Water, could enter the Port. They answered that she could not, except at the New or Full Moon, at which Times the Tide runs very high; that, at the Entrance of the Port, there was a Bar, where we often meet with only fifteen Foot Water; but that the high Tides sometimes rise to twenty Foot there. Unhappily the high Tide was not expected till ten Days after; and we were told that in five Days, we had great Reason to fear as violent a Storm as the foregoing. Hence we were determined not to lose a Moment's Time;

* One who serves him as Catechist.

but to make Use of the Mandarin *Litoo-ffe's* Boats for carrying our Goods on Shore.

Just as we were taking the Bales out of the Hold, there happened an Insurrection among the Ship's Crew, who absolutely refused to proceed with the unlading. As the Sailors had been very much frightened in the last Storm, they were greatly disgusted to find that more Care was taken of the Goods than of their Lives. They were afraid that, after the Ship should be unloaded, no Scruple would be made to take them out to Sea again; and for that Reason they resolved not to permit any of the Goods to be carried out. This Insurrection disconcerted us not a little; and would have been attended with fatal Consequences; had not Mr. *De la Rigaudiere's* Prudence and Authority, appeased it on a sudden. In the mean Time the Bales were lying on Deck, ready to be put into *Chineze* Boats, which lay round the Ship; and the Ship's Crew were quieted, when we met with a fresh Disaster, a prodigious Shower of Rain falling, which obliged us to put all the Goods back again into the Hold; for as we had not yet Time to build a Warehouse, the Goods would have been all spoiled had they been landed.

One would have thought that Heaven took a Pleasure in exercising our Patience, as it thus defeated all our Designs one after another. Our People went and took a view of the *Chineze* Barges, to see whether they could not carry a few Goods to *Tien-pay*; but found that the Scuttles were too narrow for Bales of *European* Goods, so that we were obliged to send back those Vessels empty. We then kept the small Fishing-boats, in order that these might carry the next Day, the several Bales singly to *Fan-ki-chan*, where that very Evening our People went and built a Shed, for securing them: but in the Night the Fishermen, to whom great Store

Store of Provisions had been given, calling to mind that their Families, who subsist entirely by Fishing, might be starved in their Absence, went away, and never came back. Thus were we forced to prepare for encountring, in this Situation, the fifth Storm with which we had been threatned. We indeed were under terrible Apprehensions on that Account; and it rose with as much Fury as the former one, but, Thanks to Providence, it was of short Duration; and here, Heaven be praised, all our Evils ended.

All we now wanted was, to hear from Father *De Fontaney*, we having dispatched several Messengers to him to *Canton* and *Quanbay*; and Messieurs *Basset* and *Besnard*, with Mr. *Oury*, our second Captain, were let out thither, to inform him of our Misfortunes and Wants. During this the Father himself was roving from Island to Island, exposed to the greatest Dangers, and extremely uneasy, as he still missed of what he sought; and could not find even so much as the Wrecks of the Long-boat or the Canoo, which we had quitted near *Sanchan*. In the mean Time the *Hoopoo*, or Mandarin of the Customs, who was come from *Canton* to *Tien-pay*, as his Duty required, informed us that Father *Pelisson* the Superiour of our House in *Canton*, had set out, by Sea, from that City, at the same Time with him, in order to take in Charge, in Father *De Fontenay's* Name, of the Presents sent to the Emperor; and that we, during this Interval, might send some Person to him, to treat about the Customs of the Goods. We thought it surprising that People who came to perplex us, should find us out sooner than those who were seeking us, in order to do us Service *.

* Methinks there was nothing very surprising in this; Men being generally more Eagle-eyed and active, when Interest is the Spur, than when Humanity is the Motive.

At last, one *Sunday* Evening, we saw two Gallies steering, as we imagined, towards *Tien-pay*. Presently after we perceived that they were making up to us, when taking up a Telescope, we spied a Flag which at first seemed White, but afterwards appeared Yellow; and, lastly, we could perceive large *Chineze* Characters painted on it; this was the *Tagen*. A Vessel which had been sent out upon the Discovery, cried aloud, that our Directors of *Canton*, with Fathers *De Fontaney* and *Pelisson*, were on Board. Immediately the Soldiers put themselves under Arms, and prepared to fire the Cannon. We were overjoyed at the Arrival of these Friends, and embraced one another with Joy. They had brought us Mafts and Refreshments. But now the *Chineze* besought us not to let the Cannon be fired, till they, and their Gallies, were got at a great Distance from us. We refitted, with all possible Dispatch, our Ship with Mafts, in order that she might soon get into *Tien-pay*. The Port is spacious, but we met every where with Sands, which are either covered or bare as the Tide comes in or out; and there is scarce Depth of Water enough for the *Chineze* Gallies. There is only a pretty narrow Bafon, with six or seven Fathom Water; but to get to it, we must go over, as I observed before, a Bar which has but three Foot Water. However, we came near it at the New Moon, in Hopes of getting over it, as the Tides were high; but the Wind happened to be contrary.

The Mandarins of *Tien-pay* came thither in order to visit Father *De Fontaney*. They were treated with the greatest Honours and Civilities; and in particular with the firing of our Guns by way of Salute. Grieved that it was not possible for us to come into their Port, they informed us of another about Twenty-five Leagues below that Place; and the *Chineze* Pilots being asked several Questions concerning

concerning it, answered it was a very fine One, upon which we sent one of our Pilots with them, in order to sound it. Nevertheless we returned and cast Anchor at *Fan-ki-chan*, where Father *De Fontaney* caused the Imperial Presents to be carried to *Tien-pay*, on Board a Galley which he had brought from *Canton* for that Purpose. He had agreed with the Mandarins that they should be conveyed by Land; the *Tsong-teo* having even requested this as a Favour, and offered to pay all Charges on that Occasion. Orders were issued to mend the Highways; and to get ready the *Cong-koen*, or Houses in which the Mandarins lodge whenever they travel. The *Hoopoo* knowing that Father *De Fontaney* was in *Tien-pay*, left it as quick as possible, and only sent his Officers on Board the *Amphitrite*, to search it; but not the least Regard was paid to them. Our People were proud of the Presents they carried for the Emperor; and did not doubt but that they, on this Account, would be exempted from all Duties, and freed from the troublesome rapacious *Hoopoo*.

Whilst the Mandarins were giving Orders for covering with Straw-bands, in *Tien-pay*, the Bales wherein were the Presents designed for the Emperor; so that they might be in a Condition to be carried without damaging by Porters on Bamboo Poles; Father *De Fontaney* came on Board, to bid farewell to his Friends, and take me with him. Father *Contancin* was then appointed Chaplain to the Ship; however, he and I had some Contest, concerning which of us should continue in the Ship; but as he is of a Frame of Mind, not to yield to any Person in Suffering, Father *De Fontaney* ended the Dispute in his Favour. 'Twas on the 12th of November 1701, that I first set Foot in *Ghina*, after eight Months sailing in the Manner described above. Figure to yourself, dear Father, the Extasy I felt to find myself in a Country which, during upwards of
eight

eight Years, I had longed to visit. I did not regret the many Disasters I had met with in the Voyage; but besought the Lord to continue to treat me, as he has done in every Age, his Apostles and the Preachers of his Gospel; all who set up his Cross with most Chearfulness, in those Places where they met with the greatest Oppositions and Sufferings.

The very Day I came to *Tien-pay*, it was necessary for me to become a *Chineze* in every Respect. Accordingly I assumed the Name and Dress of one; the *Chineze* not being able even to pronounce the *European* Names. All the Missionaries and Merchants are even obliged, at their Arrival, to borrow the Name of some *Chineze* Family, and I am called *Tan-chan-bien*. The Usages and Customs of this Empire are so different from ours, that an *European* must quite new mould himself, as it were, in order to become a perfect *Chineze*. The Mandarins of *Tien-pay* received us in a *Cong-koen*, where we were entertained, that very Evening, after the *Chineze* Fashion. The Banquet consisted of a Profusion of Viands and Ragoos, which I will suppose to be excellent; however, such of my Countrymen as were the Guests on that Occasion, did not seem very well satisfied with them *. Those Persons who seek nothing

* The *Chineze* not only eat of all Sorts of Flesh, Fish and Fowl, as the *Europeans*, but even Horse-Flesh; and will not scruple to feed upon Dogs, Cats, Snakes, Frogs, &c; but their usual Food is Rice and Garden-Stuff. They likewise have Broths and Soups. They boil, fry and dry their Fish; and use neither Knife, Fork, Spoon, or Cloth; but employ two little round wooden Sticks, and with these they take up their Meat very dexterously. They sup in their Broth, &c. by taking up the Cup to their Mouths. They use high Chairs and Tables. In their Entertainments every Person has generally a little Table to himself. Their chief Liquor is Tea. Their two principal strong Liquors are, *Hock-beer*, said to be made of Wheat infused in scalding hot Water; and *Sham-beer*, a Spirit distilled from Rice. They commonly eat their Meats cold, and their Liquors hot. A whim-

nothing but Variety in Dishes, might here gratify their Palates sufficiently, there being upwards of forty different Sorts. Mr. *De la Rigaudiere*, who came and conducted us thus far, was desirous of regaling the Mandarins in his Turn, after the *European* manner; but all the Bales being ready, as well as the Porters and Soldiers who were to escort them, it was thought proper to lose no longer Time.

Accordingly two Mandarins of the *Tsong-too* came next Day in order to regulate the March, and direct the Convoy of the Emperor's Bales. On every one of the Bales was fixed a little Yellow Standard, with an Inscription to bid the People reverence it, as they pass along. The Porters were obliged to give in their Names in Writing, and some Person was ever bound for them; a Soldier always walked on one Side, and the Captain was to be answerable for his

fical Circumstance is, a Person is appointed to beat Time, that all may handle their Sticks, and carry the Meat to their Mouths together. The Entertainment opens with drinking of *Sham-pow*, and then a Dish of Meat is served up to every Table. The Signal being given, the two Sticks are taken up and flourished, then they strike them into the Dish and carry a piece of Meat to their Mouths, all of them moving together, which is reckoned very polite; as, on the contrary, the being before-hand, or too late after the rest, is considered as a great Incivility. After eating a mouthful or two of every Dish, they drink or rather sip a little Liquor; there being sometimes twenty Dishes served up. No Man is forced to drink more than he pleases, but is obliged to make all the Flourishes and Pauses with the rest of the Company. They often sit silent at Table above three Hours. Next they rise up, take a little Turn, and return to the Desert, composed of Sweetmeats, &c. which they drink with their Tea. The *Chinese* frequently invite one another to Feasts, on which Occasions they discover mutual Testimonies of Esteem; but the Ceremonies are so troublesome on this Occasion, that they can't fail of being a great Constraint to an *European*. They have two kinds of Feasts, the one common, at which there are twelve or sixteen Dishes; the other extraordinary, when there are Twenty-four on each Table. A vast deal of Ceremony is used by the Master, at the placing of the first Guest. The

his Conduct. Besides, the Mandarins and their Officers formed a little flying Squadron, and took Care not to let the Procession go out of the Highway. Whatever belongs to the Emperor is looked upon as most sacred; and even the least Trifle of his is treated with Reverence, and preserved with Care. I admired the Order in our March, there being four hundred Men of us, including the *Tagen* and his Attendants. These are a sort of Kettle-drummers, Trumpeters, Players on Cornets or Shawms; Criers, Umbrello-carriers, and Standards; Lacquies; Officers, whose Employment is to chastise the Guilty, &c. The *Tagen* was carried in a Palankin or Sedan; we marching before him, in Quality of his *Laoyas* *. This was the manner in which we set out from *Tien-pay*, and travelled to *Canton*.

Tables stand in two Lines; and during the Entertainment, a Play is acted, between the two Ranges of Tables. These Feasts last about four or five Hours; they begin always near the Evening, or in the Night, and are not ended till Midnight, when the Company separates. Such Ladies as are desirous of seeing the Play, are placed out of the Hall, opposite to the Comedians, where, looking through a Lattice of Bamboo, and a kind of Silk Net, they see and hear every Thing that passes, unperceived. As all the Guests are obliged to taste of every Thing; and as a great deal of Ceremony is used on these Occasions, it consequently must be very troublesome to an *European*, and especially to a *Frenchman*, there being no Country, (I believe) where so little Ceremony is used at Table, as among the *French*; for which Reason I am not surprized, that Father *Tachard* should be tired at one of the *Chineze* Feasts. As the *Tartars* are not fond of Ceremony, they have wisely retrenched a great many of these Ceremonies. At the Conclusion of these Banquets, such Servants as wait on their Masters, walk before their Chairs, carrying large Lanthorns made of oiled Paper, on which their Master's Quality, and sometimes his Name, is expressed in large Characters. The next Morning, every one of the Guests sends a Letter of Thanks for the splendid Entertainment.

* These are *Chineze* Literati, of the first Order, who attend on the Mandarins in certain public Solemnities.

Upon our Arrival at *Yan-chuin-yen*, which is a very pretty City, we imagined it was emptied of all its Inhabitants, such prodigious Numbers lined the Way on each Side. The People seemed in Raptures, as they gazed upon us; overjoyed, in all Probability, at their seeing, for the first Time, an *European Tagen*, and Men with longer Beards than those commonly worn in *China*. A Circumstance, which surprized me, was, my observing that there was not even the least Tumult; but the deepest Silence reigned amidst such a numberless Multitude of People who were assembled; though I could not perceive that there was one civil Officer to keep them in Order. But this is the Effect of the Reservedness and Modesty of the *Chineze* Education; not to mention, as I observed before, the profound Awe with which the Sight of every Thing belonging to the Emperor inspires them. The Mandarin of *Yan-chuin-yen*, who, the Night before, had sent a Supper ready prepared, at the Distance of more than six Leagues from the City where he resided, paid us all imaginable Civilities at our Arrival, and loaded us with Presents. We then were lodged in a magnificent *Cong-koen*. We passed three Courts before we came to the Apartment of the *Tagen* and the *Laoyas*. The Site of these Houses is generally almost *South*; I say almost; it being enacted by the Laws of the Empire, that they shall deviate a little from that Point; the Emperor's Palace only being allowed to face that Quarter directly.

From *Yan-chuin-yen* we came to *Ho-tcheu*. In the way we were greatly surprized to meet with certain Rocks of a vast Height, and in the Form of a large square Tower, standing in the midst of a very wide-extended Plain. A Spectator is puzzled to think how they got there *, unless it can be

* These put one in mind of the famous Stone-henge, not far from Salisbury.

supposed

supposed that they were formerly Mountains; and that the Waters from Heaven having by insensible Degrees sunk the Earth, round those Bodies of Rocks, at last, by length of Time, made them emerge as it were, and appear above Ground in the manner they do. A Circumstance which strengthens this Conjecture is, some of these Stones towards the Bottom are still surrounded with Earth to a certain Height.

We meet in this Province with very beautiful Marble, which is employed for building Bridges; and for filling up Holes, without which the Ways would be impassable. A very poor Bonze having not long since repaired in the manner I am speaking, one of these Roads, where a Rivulet formed an ugly Bog or Marsh; the Testimony he gave on this Occasion of his public Spirit, excited the Benevolence of charitable Persons to such a Degree, that he is now rich enough to build a fine Bridge, and a Bonze-house close to it. Spying at a Distance the huge Pieces of Marble he had got together in this Valley, I imagined, seeing such a prodigious Quantity of Materials, that he intended to build a Palace. The Marble is extremely beautiful; and some of it, which is thrown down in the Road, is already smoothed by the Feet of the Passengers.

At *Ho-tcheu*, the little Land Army which escorted us, was now changed into a Fleet, all the Bales being put on Board nine Barks or Vessels. Four others were given us; one stored with our Provisions, and this served us as our Kitchen; a second was for the Music, and the Players on Instruments; a third for the Soldiers who escorted us; and a fourth for ourselves. All along the River at a League Distance, were Guard-houses; the Soldiers drawing up in two Lines the Instant they saw us, tho' at ever so great a Distance; and saluting us with a Volley of their Small-Arms, our Flutes giving the

Signal. Their manner of firing on this Occasion is different from ours. Instead of taking up their Muskets and firing into the Air, or from them, as is the Custom with us; they put them under their Arms, with the But-end before, and then fire backwards. Those who pass by Water, in Vessels, go a-shore, and take up their Quarters at any Place where they happen to be when Night comes upon them. The Soldiers divide themselves into several Bands; keep lighted Fires all Night; and make such a horrid Din as, at the same Time that it frights away Thieves, prevents many of the Travellers from sleeping.

The 20th of *November* we arrived in *Chao-kin*, a great Town where the *Tsong-too*, who is Father *De Fontaney's* good Friend, resides. The Port is very spacious, and here three Rivers, or great Canals meet, one of which runs towards *Ho-tcheu*; another towards *Chanfi*; and the third runs to *Canton*; within a League of *Chao-kin*. The last mentioned Canal is hemmed in so much between Mountains, that whenever the Rains fall, *Chao-kin* is always overflowed. In *March* last, the River overflowed to forty Foot high; and we saw Houses on the Key, all along the Shore, the Roofs of which had been carried off by the Flood. As the *Tsong-too* had defrayed all the Expences of our Voyage, the Mandarins subordinate to him, shewed us all imaginable Civilities during his Absence, agreeably to the Orders he had sent them for that Purpose from *Canton*, where he was impatient for our Arrival. Accordingly they put us on Board a large Mandarin Vessel, which is vastly convenient on these Occasions; the Persons on Board such Vessels being better accommodated than they generally are in our Houses.

From *Chao kin* up to *Canton*, the River is completely lined with great Villages, which lie so thick that they seem to be but one continued Town; and

'tis here, that an *European* begins to form to himself an Idea of the Beauties of *China*. To the left was *Kian-men*, a Village famous for its Length, it being upwards of five Leagues long; and in it are near two hundred square Towers, which in War-Time, are garrisoned with Soldiers for the Defence of the Inhabitants. We pass one End of the Village of *Fo-chan*, which, though not so large as the other, is yet said to contain a Million of Souls *. On the River only are above five thousand Vessels, all of which are as long as our biggest Ships; and every Vessel is inhabited by a whole Family, with not only the Children, but the Grand-Children. I omit to mention a numberless Multitude of Fishing-boats and Canoos, employed in carrying Persons from one Shore to another; there being no Bridges on these great Rivers. In the Fields, on little Hills near the Villages, are a vast Number of Sepulchres, in the Form of so many Mounds of Earth, terminating in a Point with a large Urn on the Summit. I am of Opinion that it will not be possible for many Persons to be buried in this manner; otherwise, as much room will be wanting to hold the dead, as to lodge the living.

In fine, the 25th of *November* we arrived in *Canton*. This is not a City but a World, where People of all Nations are seen. Its Situation is as wonderful; it being watered by a great River, whose Canals flow into several Provinces; and 'tis said to be larger than *Paris*. The Houses of *Canton* are not magnificent outwardly; the most splendid Edifice in it being the Church which Father *Turcotti* the Jesuit built there two or three Years since. The *Heathens* complaining of this to the Viceroy, as an Insult on their Houses and Pagods; the Viceroy, who is one of the most sagacious Magistrates

* The Father is perhaps mistaken here, though some Persons have assured me otherwise.

of *China*, spoke thus; *How could I pretend to pull down, in Canton, a Church dedicated to the God of Heaven; since the Emperor is building one still more magnificent, in his Honour, in his own Palace in Peking?* And indeed, we are told here, that this great Prince shews daily more and more Kindness to the Christian Religion. He had given the Jesuits, before he sent Father *De Fontaney* into *France*, a large Piece of Ground in his Palace, in order for them to build a Church to the true God; and has since favoured them with Money and Marble for that Purpose. How great a Consolation would it be, should this Prince himself at last acknowledge and adore him in Concert with us! This Edifice is built in the *European* Taste; and Brother *De Belleville*, a Jesuit, a very able Architect, had the Direction of the whole. Several more Christian Churches will soon be raised in these Provinces; and our great Monarch will be the Founder of them all; he having given Father *De Fontaney*, in this last Voyage, Monies sufficient for building four; and has promised when these are finished, to furnish the Sums necessary for raising others. It were to be wished that all the Princes of *Christendom* would, in Imitation of *Lewis XIV.* be equally pious, in thus building Christian Churches in Heathen Countries.

With regard to us, we shall take the utmost Pains and Care to fill, with all convenient Speed, Churches with fervent *Christians*. I know not yet in what Part of *China* my Mission may be fixed. We shall set out, three Days hence, with Father *De Fontaney*, who intends to settle us in different Places. Some of us will stop in those Cities, where Houses are already allowed us; and others will proceed to *Nankin*, in order to establish a Seminary there. Thither such Missionaries, as come from *Europe*, will be immediately dispatched, in order for them to learn and study the *Chinese* Language and Books.

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Nine of us with Father *De Fontaney*, came as Missionaries into *China*; and there have been since added to us, Fathers *Hervieu*, *Noelas*, *Melon*, and *Chomel*, who came by way of *India*. Father *De la Fontaine* was to be the fifth, and I had agreed to meet him in *Canton*; but finding a Mission in *Madura*, he preferred it to that of *China*, as having less Occasion for him. As soon as I shall be a little better acquainted with the Country, you shall have some Account of it. 'Tis enough that I have been able to give you a Relation of my Voyage. I have sent the present Letter by an *English* Ship, the *Amphitrite* not being able to sail for *Europe* till within a Twelvemonth; but I will write to you at large, as soon as she purposes to return thither. I recommend myself to your Prayers, and am with due Gratitude and Respect,

Honoured Sir,

Yours, &c.

DE TARTRE.

Father DE CHAVAGNAC, to Father LE GOBIEN.

Cho-tcheu, Decemb. 30, 1701.

Reverend Father,

YOU was pleased to desire me, at my leaving *France*, to describe the Qualities requisite to a Missionary, who comes into the *East*. Possibly I may one Day be enabled to inform you more accurately than I can do at present. However, having conversed, during my three Months abode in these Parts, with Missionaries of various Orders, I believe it will be possible for me to point out the most essential

essential Characteristicks, with regard to the Article in Question.

First, Persons are required, who have formed the strongest Resolution to suffer all Things for Christ's sake; and to become new Men, as it were, not only as they must change their Climate, their Dress, and their Food; but still more, as they must practise Manners, the very reverse of those of our Countrymen the *French*. That Man who has not this Talent, or will not endeavour to acquire it, should lay aside all Thoughts of coming to *China*. Those also are unfit who are not Masters of their Temper; for a Man of a hasty Turn would sometimes make dreadful Havock here. The Genius of the *Chineze* requires Men to be Masters of their Passions; and especially of a certain turbulent Activity, which is for bearing down every Thing. A *Chineze* has not Abilities to comprehend, in a Month, what a *Frenchman* can inform him of 'in an Hour. He must bear patiently with that Indolence and Slowness of Apprehension which is natural to them; must boldly inculcate the Truths of Religion to a Nation, who stand in fear of no one but the Emperor; whose only Thirst is that of Money, and who consequently are wholly indifferent with regard to all Things relating to Eternity. Every Missionary who is not inspired with the strongest Spirit of Patience and Moderation, is put to the most severe Trial.

The Difficulty of the *Chineze* Language, and its Characters, requires also a Person who delights in Study; though he finds nothing pleasing in it, except the Hopes that he may one Day employ it successfully to the Glory of God. As he always has an Opportunity of learning something on these Occasions, he consequently may spend a great Part of his Time this way; and he must accustom himself perpetually to shift from Action to Study, and
from

from Study to his Ministerial Functions. Farther, 'tis well known that the *Chineze* boast their being the most civilized, and most accomplished People upon Earth ; but an *European* can scarce conceive how difficult it is for a Foreigner to acquire the *Chineze* Politeness. The Ceremonial of this Country is surprisngly fatiguing to a *Frenchman*, it being one Business to acquire the Theory of it, and another to put it in Practice. In proportion as a Person excels in the *European* Sciences, the more likely it is for him to ingratiate himself with the Nation in Question (particularly with their great Men) who have Foreigners in the utmost Contempt. Thus you perceive, reverend Father, how absolutely necessary it is for a Person to have the strongest Command over his Passions, in these Missions more than in any other. I omit to mention the Christian and Religious Virtues he ought to possess: without these it is impossible for any Man, either here or in any other Country, to save his own Soul, or to make any considerable Progress in the Conversion of others——*. I was lately told by two
French-

* If the above-mentioned Picture given of a good Jesuit-Missionary, was justly drawn from all, they would be a most valuable Sett of Men. Here follows a Contrast to it. “ Don *Hernando Guerrero*, Archbishop of *Manila*, in the *Philippine* Islands, “ having assembled the Superiors of the Religious Houses, and “ such learned Persons as were in the greatest Esteem in the “ Archiepiscopal City, in order to consult them concerning a “ Point which troubled his Conscience, *viz.* the Jesuits of that “ Country preaching and confessing without leave from the Ordinary ; the Resolution of that Assembly, which was held several Times on this Account, was, that it was incumbent on “ the Archbishop to ask the Jesuits by what Authority they exercised these Functions. Accordingly he put this Question to “ them, but the only Answer he could get was, that they had a “ a Privilege for so doing ; which not contenting the Archbishop, he required them to shew, according to Law, by what “ Authority they had exercised such a Jurisdiction ; and insisted “ that they should produce their Privileges. However the Je-
“ suits

Frenchmen who came from *Peking*, that the *Jesuits Church* there is almost finished. 'Tis one of the finest Edifices in that great City. The Censors of the Empire (by which Name we call them, as their Employment very much resembles that of the Censors of antient *Rome*) seeing it so far advanced, represented to the Monarch that it was contrary to their Laws. 'Tis I who am in the wrong, replied he; the Fathers having built it in this manner by my Command. The Censors insisting that the Emperor ought to send and

“ suits so far from doing this, appointed, as Conservator *, a
 “ Canon of the Church of *Manila*, the Archbishop's Enemy.
 “ The Conservator proceeded against the Archbishop, supported
 “ by the Authority of the Governor, who was exasperated against the Prelate, because he had refused the *Jesuits* a House,
 “ and a Garden a little out of Town, belonging to the Archiepiscopal See. As this House would have been very commodious for the Fathers, and the Governor was their great
 “ Friend, one of their Body being his Confessor, they met all
 “ together, and formed a Resolution to remove the Prelate.
 “ The Governor being firmly determined to put his Design in
 “ Execution, went and presided in the Audience, in which there
 “ was but one Counsellor, who was found dead next Morning.
 “ The Archbishop desired to be heard in due Form of Law;
 “ but instead of hearing him, the Governor, who was animated
 “ by the *Jesuits*, resolved, by their Advice, instantly to banish
 “ the Prelate. The several Religious Communities, being told
 “ that the Officers of Justice were going to the Archiepiscopal Palace, waited upon their Prelate; when all taking Wax-Tapers in their Hands, they advised him to clothe himself in his
 “ Pontifical Vestments; to stay in his Chapel; and to keep the
 “ Host always in his Hand, as a Shield against the Tyranny of
 “ the Governor, and the Violence of the *Jesuits*. The Governor, who knew all that passed, immediately commanded a
 “ Body of Soldiers to march with their Match lighted, and
 “ their Muskets ready to fire, and drive all the Friars out of the
 “ Chapel, leaving only the Archbishop there. But the Provincials, the Commissaries, the Priors and Guardians, telling
 “ those Soldiers that they were assembled there, in order to ve-

* *Conservator*, is a Person appointed to preserve the Privileges granted to certain Bodies; or to whom a Commission is delegated, appointing him to settle their Differences.

and contradict this Order, and cause the Church to be pulled down; *What would you have me do?* replied the Prince? *I daily receive most considerable Services from these Foreigners: and I don't know in what manner to reward them. They refuse Employments of every kind, and will not accept of Money. They are affected with nothing but what relates to their Religion; and as this is the only Article in which I have an Opportunity of doing them Service, I will bear no more of this Matter.*

We

“nerate the Blessed Sacrament; the Governor again commanded the Soldiers, upon pain of Death, to obey his Orders, and drag them out of the Chapel. The Soldiers complied, and forced out all the Friars; but as some of the oldest and most venerable among them, covered themselves with the Pontifical Vestments, in Hopes of being secured from this Outrage; the Soldiers did not pay the least Regard to their Habit; but dragging such Religious as had laid fast hold of them, they drew also the Archbishop, who at last fell down, still keeping fast hold of the Pyx, and was even wounded in the Face by it. Thus the Prelate was bereaved of all his Friends; and there were left round him fifty Soldiers, who were ordered to seize him, the Instant the Host should be out of his Hands *. In the mean Time one of the Soldiers seeing the violent Lengths they were ordered to go, and knowing that he would be shot in Case he refused to obey the Governor's Orders, drew his Sword and fell upon it, saying, that he chose rather to lay violent Hands upon himself, than participate with *Christians* in such Outrages.

“The Prelate being kept so long standing, in his Pontifical Vestment, grew at last so weak, by Reason of his great Age and Infirmities, that yielding now to Necessity, as well as to the Advice of the most sage Friars, who observed that it would be sinful in him to die in that manner, he set down the Host; when immediately the Serjeant Major, at the head of the Soldiers, thrusting him into a Coach, drove out of the City, and then put him into a pitiful small Vessel, unprovided with all Things; and without permitting any good *Christians*, to carry him the least Sustenance, or so much as one of his

* How ridiculous was it for those Soldiers, to imagine there was less Guilt in injuring the Prelate, when the Pyx was in his Hand, than when he had laid it down.

“ Servants

We are now labouring at the Conversion of a *Tartarian* Officer, who was prevailed upon by an Accident which reflects great Honour on the *Christian* Religion, to get himself instructed in the Law of Christ. He was going on Horseback to *Peking*, when happening to let fall his Purse, a poor *Christian* Artificer who saw it fall, took it up and ran after him, in order to restore it. The Officer surveyed the poor Man with an Air of Contempt; and not knowing his Business, spurred his Horse; notwithstanding which the *Christian* would not go away, but followed him quite Home. There the

“ Servants to accompany him. So that now, having only five
“ Soldiers to guard him, he was carried into a Desert Island,
“ where there was not so much as the least Hut to shelter him.

“ As at this Time, the Divine Office was suspended in every
“ Part of the City, all the Friars having forbid it in the most
“ solemn Manner, and observed the Prohibition with due Respect, none but the Jesuits kept their Churches open, and in
“ these they preached, confessed, and said Mass; and even solemnized it in the Governor's House, to whom they administered the Sacraments.

“ The Archbishop being thus removed from his Diocese, another was appointed by Order of the Conservator and the Jesuits, till the Prelate was restored, which happened not till
“ they had seized all his Possessions, and sold them publicly by
“ Auction; and even his Crozier, to satisfy various pecuniary
“ Mulcts, which they had sentenced him to pay. The Inhabitants being extremely desirous of having him recalled, he
“ at last returned, but not till after the Jesuits had got every
“ Thing they wanted.

“ The Archbishop being restored, sent two Friars, the one to
“ *Rome* and the other to *Madrid*, to inform the Pope and the
“ King of *Spain*, of the barbarous Treatment he had met with.
“ They arrived in both these Capitals, after passing through the
“ Straits of *Magellan*, in a Ship belonging to Protestants,
“ which the Merchants of *Manila* had hired, and fitted out at
“ their Expence, merely from the Love they bore their Pastor.

“ Some Time after this, the Serjeant-Major, who had seized
“ the Archbishop, passing through the Streets in a Chair because
“ of his great Age, the Populace fell upon, and beat him to
“ such a Degree that he died.” *La morale pratique des Jesuits*,
pag. 226. & seq.

exasperated *Tartar* first gave him foul Language, and asked him what he wanted; to which the *Christian* replied, *My only Business is to return you your Purse.* This surprized the *Tartar*, who then, changing his Note, enquired how he came to return him his Money, contrary to the Customs of the Empire, which permit every Man to keep whatsoever he finds. To this the Artificer replied, *I am a Christian, and am enjoyned to do as I have now done, by the Precepts of the Religion I profess.* This Answer raised the Officer's Curiosity, who thereupon was desirous of knowing what this Religion was. Accordingly he visited our Fathers; listened to them; and seemed to entertain the highest Esteem for the several Particulars they told him, concerning the Mysteries and Maxims of the *Christian* Law. We hope Grace will compleat what has been so happily begun in him *.

Father *Castner*, a *Bavarian* Jesuit, was so good as to take me to his Mission, situated five Leagues from *Canton*. 'Tis in *Fochan*, a Town larger than *Paris*, and computed to contain nine hundred thousand Inhabitants. I myself was an Eye-witness as to its Dimensions; but with regard to the Number of the Inhabitants, I speak this on the Testimony of all our Missionaries in *Canton*. I saw, in *Fochan*, a very fine Church, about the same Bigness, and built in much the same Taste, with that of our *Noviciate* in *Paris*.

I am, &c.

DE CHAVAGNAC.

* I need observe but to few of my Readers, that these Conversions, said to be made by the Jesuits, are very much to be suspected.

Father

Father TACHARD, Superiour-General of the French Missionary-Jesuits, in the East-Indies, to Father DE LA CHAIZE.

Pondicherry, February 16, 1702,

Most Reverend Father,

I HAD the Honour of informing you, from *Cape Verd*, of what had befallen us since our leaving *Port-Lewis*; and shall now continue, as I promised, to acquaint you with the Particulars of our Voyage. From *Cape Verd* we met with nothing remarkable, till our Arrival at the Island of *Anjouan* *, situated to the North of the great Island of *Madagascar*. The Inhabitants of *Anjouan*, who come from *Arabia* †, call their Island *Zoani*, of which the *Europeans*, by adding the Particle *an*, (this being an Article of the Language of the People in Question) have formed the Name *Anjouan*. As Hurricanes generally break out in *August* and *September*, on the Coasts of *Indostan*, 'tis dangerous for the *Europeans* to arrive in *India* before the 10th of *October*. Having therefore performed our Voyage in a much shorter Time than could have

* One curious Circumstance in the Voyages of these Jesuits, is their sometimes touching at little Islands, not specified in *Moll's* Maps, nor mentioned in any Travels I have met with. This Island of *Anjouan* may be one of them, if it be not that called *Johanna*. This Difference in the Orthography of Names, makes a great Confusion in Geography; and there is no Nation that contributes more to this Confusion than the *French*.

† *Arabia* being at so great a Distance from this Island, many Persons may doubt whether the *Anjouans* came originally from thence; but as the most Northern Point of *Madagascar* is equally far from *Arabia*; as many People of *Madagascar* speak *Arabic*, and are a Sort of *Mahomedans*; for which Reason their Ancestors are supposed to come originally from *Arabia*; it also may be supposed, that the *Anjouans* came likewise from the last mentioned Country.

been

been expected, we were forced to make a considerable Stay in the Island of *Anjouan*; and still longer in 21 and 22 Degrees of *North* Latitude, where we plying to Windward during a Month, waiting the Season for casting Anchor in the Road of *Surat*.

The Stay we made at *Anjouan*, gave us an Opportunity of fixing, by repeated Observations, its true Latitude. That of the most *Northern* Part of the Island, where we were on the Sea-Coast, is Eleven Degrees, Fifty Minutes; so that the middle of the Island is in Twelve Degrees *South* Latitude. This Observation which I made with a Quadrant, of a Foot Radius, is the more necessary, because not long since an *English* Ship, for want of knowing the Latitude of *Anjouan*, had been Shipwrecked at *Mayote*, an Island situated towards the *South*, and upwards of 14 or 15 Leagues from *Anjouan*. About seven Years since the same Misfortune would have befallen one of the King's Ships, (of sixty Guns) had not the Captain, by his good Conduct, got her off. The Ship's Company were in the greatest Danger, and saw the Rocks under the Ship, which otherwise would have been dashed to Pieces, because the Currents drew her towards the Land. This Error was owing to the Pilot's mistaking (occasioned by bad Charts) *Mayote* for *Moali*, though the last mentioned Island lies about Thirty Minutes, or ten Sea Leagues, more to the *North* than that of *Mayote*.

The 4th of *August*, about Eleven in the Morning, there was an almost total Eclipse of the Sun. I shall not send you the Scheme of that Eclipse, all my Papers being still at *Manapar*, towards Cape *Comerin*; but I hope to be able to transmit it to you next Year. This Scheme is of a singular kind, its showing, by a Method which I believe has not yet been practised, the Magnitude and Duration of that solar

M

Eclipse;

Eclipse; and the several Places on the Earth where it was visible.

The salubrious Air of the Island of *Anjouan*, and the abundant Refreshments which are met with in it, recovered our sick Men, almost as soon as they were put ashore. But a great many of those who enjoyed the finest Health fell sick, some for having drunk to Excess of the Liquors of that Country, which are exceedingly strong; others, for eating too greedily of cooling Fruits, and drinking immoderately of the Water which runs from the Rocks. They were seized with a malignant Fever, together with a Purging and Vomiting, and were light-headed. Being afraid of these Distempers, as they afterwards might grow infectious, we left this agreeable and fruitful Island much sooner than otherwise we should have done. We weighed Anchor the 14th of *August* with a favourable Wind, which however was not lasting; for scarce had we made seven or eight Leagues but we were becalmed. The Currents carried us towards the Island of *Moali* *, and forced us to steer to the *West* of *Comora* or *Angasia* †, the largest belonging to that little *Archipelago*.

This happened very providentially for two poor *Englishmen*, who had lived two Years in this Island, quite destitute of all Things, and exposed to the Insults and Cruelty of a barbarous Nation. We had sent our Long-boat to fetch something we wanted. We then lay by, and waited two or three Hours for her. Upon her returning, we were greatly surprized to see two Men in her, stark-naked, with the Air of Skeletons, and in a dying Condition.

* Possibly this may be the Island called *Mobila*, in *Moll's* Maps, one of the *Comora* Islands to the Northwest of *Madagascar*.

† I suppose this is the Island called *Angazecha*, or *Comora*, in *Moll's* Maps, to the Northwest of *Madagascar*.

The one was about Thirty, and the other seemed to be not above Twenty. Upon examining them, we found they had suffered Shipwreck at the Island of *Mayote* abovementioned. The former had belonged to a large Ship of the *English East-India* Company, which was lost about three Years before; and the latter came from *Boston* in *New-England*, where he had embarked with some *English* Privateers. These two Ships had been cast away, occasioned by the Pilots mistaking the Island of *Mayote* for that of *Moali*. Such of the Passengers and of the Ship's Crew as escaped to Shore, were treated kindly by the Inhabitants, so long as the great Numbers of them made them formidable: but various Diseases breaking out, some arising from the noxious Quality of the Air, or the Excesses which these *Englishmen* gave into; and others from Melancholy, they were reduced to about fifteen or sixteen Persons, when the *Barbarians*, being no longer afraid, sought for Opportunities to murder them, and seize their Effects.

Among these unhappy Persons were seven *Frenchmen* and three *Germans*; the rest being *English* and *Dutch*. As their Number decreased daily, and they saw one another perish for Want, they resolved to leave the Island, by some Method or other; they not having the least Grounds to hope that any *European* Ship could ever take them from it, since the Port was inaccessible even to Ships of a moderate Burthen. In this Resolution they, with the Wrecks of their Ships, built a kind of Long-boat large enough to carry their Persons, and several considerable Sums of Money they had left. They were to have sailed the next Day, when the King of the Country, entertaining some Suspicion of what was doing, sent for their Boat, declaring that he had a very great Fancy for her; which, however, was only a Pretence to stop them and seize their

Money. The *Europeans* who were then assembled in a Hut, on the Sea-side, held a Council; and were unanimously of Opinion, that they should refuse the King of *Mayote's* Demands in the civilest Manner they could. They were sensible that, after this, all Endeavours possible would be used to destroy them; and consequently that it would be necessary for them to stand more than ever upon their Guard; but the *Barbarians*, observing their Powder was spent, (as they went no longer a hunting) surrounded them in great Numbers, and attacked them within their Hut, where the *Europeans* defended themselves a long Time. As this Hut was surrounded only with large Mats, and covered with nothing but Straw and Barks of Trees, the *Barbarians* easily set fire to it, and burnt most of those unhappy Wretches. Such of them as escaped half-roasted were equally unfortunate with their Companions, they being cruelly butchered. Thus, of all this Company, only three *Englishmen* survived, who hid themselves till the Fury of the Slaughter was over. Their Enemies took Pity on them, and gave them a little Canoo with four Men, who conveyed them to *Angasia*.

These unfortunate Persons were graciously received by the King of the *Western* Part of the Island, where they landed. He first entertained them at his own Expence; but soon growing weary of this Hospitality, he left them to provide for themselves as they could. During a Year and a half they subsisted upon the Fruit of the *Cocao*, and the Milk of Cows they met with straggling; after which, one of them being unable to live any longer in that manner, fell sick and died. His two Companions were preparing to lay him in the Ground; when the Inhabitants of *Angasia*, as though their Land would have been profaned by the Bones of an *European*, refused them Burial, and obliged them to throw the Body into the Sea. Such are the Particulars we heard concerning these

these two *Englishmen*, who told their Story to the Officers of our Ship. They were standing on the Shore of the Island of *Angasia*, when our Long-boat arrived there; and they did not offer to speak a Word till they saw it put off from Shore. They then plunged into the Sea, when swimming with all their might, and calling aloud to our People to stay, they at last got into the Boat. They then were carried on Board our Ship, where every one being moved to pity at their past Sufferings, and their present sad Condition, all imaginable Care was taken to relieve them, and to give them Food and Cloaths. Upon our Arrival in *Surat*, the oldest of the two retired among the *English*; and the other, telling us that his Father was a *Dutchman*, though settled in *Boston*, took up his Quarters among the *Dutch*.

During our Course from *Angasia* to *Surat*, many of our People fell sick, who had all the Assistance they wanted. Father *Petit* my Companion, attending assiduously upon them, and endeavouring to inspire them with Sentiments suitable to their several Conditions, was himself soon after seized with a Fever of a very malignant Nature. On this Occasion I was no less edified by the Patience and Resignation he discovered during his Sickness, than by the Courage and Love he shewed whilst he visited such as wanted his Help. If we except these last Sicknesses, which took off seven or eight of our Ship's Company, we had the happiest and smoothest Passage, in every Respect, I ever heard of. There was not so much as the least Storm, nor were we once becalmed; and so perfect a Harmony subsisted always between the Officers and Passengers, that 'twas with real Grief they separated. The first who left us were two young *Capuchins*, whose Sweetness of Temper, Civility and Piety were of the highest Advantage to us during the whole Voyage. There also were two bare-footed *Carmelites*, *Flemings*, patronized by the Nuncio,

Nuncio, a Favour they justly deserved, they being Persons of the greatest Wisdom and Modesty; and indulging us, in a particular manner, the strongest Marks of their Confidence and Friendship.

The Commotions which broke out at *Surat* would not permit us to stay long there. The *English* Privateers who had long infested those Seas with their continual Piracies, had just before taken two Ships richly laden. The *Mohammedan* Merchants who were the Owners of these Ships, insisted, that the *Europeans*, the *French*, *English* and *Dutch* who were settled in *Surat*, should indemnify them; and accordingly the ill Treatment these met with from them, prompted us not to make any stay there; for which Reason we embarked the 20th of *October* 1701, in Order to sail for *Calicut*. We passed by *Goa*, where we had the Satisfaction of paying our Devotions at the Sepulchre of *St. Francis Xavier*, Apostle of the *Indies*. This Sepulchre is richly adorned; and not above two Years ago, the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, that wise Prince, who is so greatly esteemed in *Europe*, sent thither a magnificent Pedestal of green Jasper, embellished with Brass Plates, on which the most signal Actions of *St. Francis Xavier* are represented with wonderful Delicacy and Skill.

After sailing some Days, we arrived at *Termepetan*, a small Town standing on a fine River, where we cast Anchor. Here we met with the *Ponchartrain*, a Ship belonging to the *French East-India* Company, which having sailed from the Island of *Mascarin* *, had met with an *English* Privateer, a
forty

* It lies to the East of the great Island of *Madagascar*. 'Tis in the Possession of the French, and by them called the Island of *Bourbon*.

This Island of *Mascarin*, is named *Mascarenhas*, or the *English* Forest, in *Moll's* Maps. 'Twas first so called by the *English*.
'Tis

forty Gun Ship, off Cape *Comerin*. As this Privateer had a great Number of Men on board, and all their Cannon were drawn out, they had very much alarmed Mr. *Du Bosc*, Captain of the *Pontchartrain*, the Privateer, having come up within half the Length of Cannon-shot; but observing that the whole Crew of the *Pontchartrain* were upon Deck, and seemed resolved to make a stout Defence; the Privateer sheered off, and cast Anchor at a Leagues Distance from them.

Here we were obliged to come out of the *Princess*, which was the Ship's Name that had brought us from *France*. 'Twas with some Regret we did this, because we were still to double Cape *Comorin*, which is not very easily done, in a Vessel that never dares lose sight of Land. We embarked at *Tremapetan* in order to sail for *Calicut*, situated but Ten Leagues from it. *Calicut* was formerly the renowned Capital of a Kingdom of the same Name; but is now merely a large, ill-built Town very little inhabited. The Sea which, within a Century, has gained much on this Coast, has swallowed up the greatest Part of the old Town, with a noble Fortrefs of Free-stone. Ships now cast Anchor over their Ruins; and the Harbour is clogged with a great

'Tis about Thirty Leagues round; beautifully diversified with Hills and Plains, Forests and Champaign-Grounds. 'Tis well stocked with Wood and Water, and the Soil is fruitful, one Part of the Island excepted which is parched by the bursting of a *Vulcano*. The ingenious Mr. *Salmon*, Vol. III. pag. 104. of his useful Modern History, is guilty of something like an Inaccuracy, he saying that the English discovered it first, and afterwards that it was first discovered by the Portugueze in 1545. These first stocked it with Hogs and Goats, but afterwards deserted it. In 1613, Capt. *Castleton*, an Englishman, touched there, but made no Settlement. In 1654, the French took Possession of it, but the only Use they make of it, is for their *India* Ships to take in fresh Provisions.

Number of Shelves, &c. which are seen here at Low-Water; and here Ships are often cast away*.

The first Conquest the *Portuguese* made in *India*, was the taking of *Calicut*, which they kept till such Time as the *Nairs*, who are the Gentlemen and best Soldiers of the Country, seeing the *Dutch* attack the *Portuguese* on every Side, and dispossess them of their best Fortresses, embraced this Opportunity for taking up Arms, and possessing themselves of *Calicut*. They there found above an hundred Pieces of Brass Cannon, part of which they threw into a neighbouring Lake; and carried the rest (being about Thirty or Forty) half a League up the Country, in order to secure them, and they are still there.

In this Country, called *Malleami*, there are *Castes* †, as in the rest of *India*. Most of them observe the same Customs; and in particular they all entertain the like Contempt for the Religion and Manners of the *Europeans*. But a Circumstance, that perhaps is not found elsewhere, and which I myself could scarce believe ‖, is that among these *Barbarians*,
and

* The *Zamorin*, or Emperor of *Calicut*, is said to be the most powerful of all the Princes of *Malabar*, and to claim Tribute from the other Monarchs of that Country. Some say that he can bring an hundred thousand Men into the Field. *Calicut* is a large Trading City, and has a good Harbour. Pepper and Precious Stones particularly, are brought from thence. At the Time when the *Portuguese* first arrived in these Parts, 'twas the chief City for Trade in *India*. The *Moors* opposed the Descent of the *Portuguese* with all possible Vigour; but these landing a Body of Troops, built a strong Fort but were drove out again. The Fort is now washed away by the Sea. Several *European* Nations, and particularly the *English*, have their Factories here, and trade without Restraint. The Prince's Palace, which he seldom visits, is an old irregular Pile of Building.

† These are something like the *Ferwish* Tribes.

‖ Possibly there may be as little Truth in another Custom ascribed by some Travellers to the People of *Calicut*, and is as follows. The Bramins or Priests (say these Travellers) have
one

and especially the noble *Castes*, a Woman is allowed, by the Laws, to have several Husbands. Some of these have had ten Husbands together, all whom they look upon as so many Slaves, whom their Charms had subjected. This Custom, which is somewhat monstrous, as well as many others, unknown to their Neighbours, and which prevail among these People, are founded on their Religion *. They declare, as the antient *Heathens*, that they herein only imitate the Practice of those Gods whom they worship in *Malleami*.

The Jesuits had a fine Church in *Calicut*, which the Prince of that Country demolished, some Time since, out of Hatred to the *Portuguese*. But the illustrious Count *De Villaverde*, then Viceroy of the *Indies*, obliged him to rebuild it; and it was not quite finished when we passed by that Way. In this City, Father *Petit* first began to practice the mortified Life he is to lead in *Madura*, he lying on the Ground upon a Matt, eating nothing but Rice, and drinking only Water. Though this was a very severe Trial, and he was not quite recovered of a violent Fit of Sickness, with which he had been afflicted at Sea, Heaven was pleased to behold him

one very odd Employment. One of the principal of these Bramins is obliged to pass the Bridal-Night with the Queen; and in all Probability, they do not chuse the oldest among the Priests for this Service. The King sends the Bramin to the Value of four or five hundred Ducats for this Drudgery; (one would imagine our *Charles II.* had heard of this Custom) and whenever that Monarch sets out upon a Journey, he intrusts his Wives to one of these Priests, who uses, his utmost Endeavours to console them during the Royal Absence. For this Reason the Sons don't succeed to the Crown, since they very possibly might be spurious Children; but immediately upon the King's Death, his Sister's Son is proclaimed King.

* According to some Travellers, the People of *Calicut* have dedicated a Temple to an *Ape*, in which Temple is a Portico composed of seven hundred marble Pillars. This does not appear probable.

with

with a propitious Eye, and he did not find any ill Effects from these Austerities.

After staying three Days in *Calicut*, we went on Board a small *Manchew* (a kind of *Felucca*) and sailed to *Tanor*, four Leagues distant from it. *Tanor* is a Town inhabited by *Christians*, under the Direction of Father *Miranda* a Jesuit, as well as those of *Calicut*. I was overjoyed to meet with this holy Missionary, whom I had known formerly in *Pondicherry*, whither he was come by Order of his Superiors, to get cured, if possible, of a very ugly Distemper contracted in the painful Mission of *Madura*.

As the Coasts of *Malabar*, of *Travancor*, and the Fishing-Coast, are inhabited chiefly by *Christians*, and under the Direction of the Jesuits, we had the holy Satisfaction of visiting, in our Course, most of the Churches in those Parts. 'Twas impossible for any Persons to receive more honourable Testimonies of Friendship, than were shewn us by the Missionaries and their several Converts. Here follows the Manner in which we were brought into *Periapatam*, which was much the same with the Reception we were favoured with in other Places. Within half a League from the Church we were met by the Children, carrying Streamers and small Bells; whilst others were beating Drums, and sounding Trumpets. The Moment they saw us, they all shouted; and strove who should get first, in order to receive our Blessing. They afterwards continued their March; and began to chaunt, alternately, the *Christian* Service. The Cross and the Streamers marched in Procession at the Head. At the Entrance of the Town the Men and Women were separated into two Bands, who gave us a thousand new Demonstrations of the Pleasure they felt at our Arrival. They thanked Providence for sending new Missionaries into their Country, to compleat the

the Instruction of such of their Countrymen as were still Heathens. The Air ecchoed, at Intervals, with the Names of *Jesus*, of *Mary*, and *Francis Xavier*, whose Successors they call'd us. The Father, who has the Direction of this Mission, waited for us at the Church-door. He then presented us with Holy Water*, and conducted us, in Ceremony, to the Altar, where we offered up a Prayer, whilst the Congregation were singing the Psalm, *Praise the Lord all ye Nations*.

Each Missionary on this Coast has three or four thousand Christians under his Direction; and some have eleven or twelve thousand, every Jesuit having the Care of four or five different Churches; so that they are forced to be almost always abroad, either in instructing and converting the Infidels, or else in visiting, comforting, and giving the Sacrament to such Christians as are sick.

We left *Tanor* the 27th of *November*, with a gentle North-west Wind; and we still coasted, never keeping above half a Quarter of a League, and sometimes much less, from Shore. For the Sea, all along the Western Coast, in this Season, that is from *October* to *March*, is as calm and unruffled as a River; and People may land from it as easily as from the *Seine* or the *Loire*. But 'tis different on the Coast of *Cormandel*, which is on the other Side, from *Cape Comorin* as far as *Bengal*; it being extremely troublesome and dangerous to get a-shore in those Places, occasioned by the Billows which are perpetually breaking on the Coast, and that with an amazing Noise and Impetuosity.

* This I suppose alludes to what I have seen practised in a *Romish* Country. A Catholic dipping his Finger in a Vessel of holy Water, standing near the Church Door, tinges with the Tip of his Finger that of his Friend, or Friends, when all of them cross themselves.

Tho' the Sea was now so very calm, we yet suffered much in this Voyage. There were twenty Rowers in our Vessel, but these did not do as much Service as half the Number of *Europeans* would have done. We had no Cloth or Cabbin to screen us from the scorching Rays of the Sun, or to keep off the Dews of the Night, which we were forced to spend with the utmost Inconveniency, we being placed between the Rowers Benches. Father *Petit* and Brother *Moricet* felt little or no ill Effects from this; but I myself was attack'd, the very first Night, with so violent a Fit of the Rheumatism, that it was impossible for me to get a Wink of Sleep.

As most of the Towns we meet with between *Tanor* to *Coolan*, are partly or entirely subject to the *Dutch*, we had not an Opportunity of going ashore any where; and were even forced to stay till Night, in order to pass the Bar of *Cochin*, to prevent our being discovered. We afterwards were in much greater Peril, we having very narrowly escaped being taken by a Pinnace belonging to an *English* Privateer of forty or fifty Guns. We should certainly have fallen into his Hands, had not our Rowers, on this Occasion, given us a Proof of the Strength they were able to exert when Necessity required; the Fear of falling into the Hands of Pirates instantly making them find their Arms, and supply the Place of Sails. We now seemed to fly along the Sea, but 'twas to run to our Destruction; for whilst we fled from the *English* Pinnace, we were advancing towards the Privateer, whom we spied at Anchor within two Leagues from *Calecoolan*. This last Danger alarmed our Sailors, who by this Time were greatly fatigued, and doubtful which Course to take. As the Wind was contrary, and our Sailors were almost spent, it was not possible for them to row back; and had they pass'd in Sight of the Pirate, we should inevitably have fallen into his Hands.

They

They therefore resolved to stop, and to work with all their Might as soon as Evening came. Accordingly they cast Anchor, as tho' they had been going ashore; and the Instant Day was shut in, they again ply'd their Oars; and work'd so hard all that Night, and the next Day, that we arrived before *Coolan* the 30th of *November*, by seven in the Morning. Our Vessel came to shore at the Foot of our Church, where Father *Petit* and I had the Consolation to say Mass, whilst the Bishop of *Cochin's* Choristers sung several pious *Motets* *; and we afterwards were very graciously received by the Prelate abovementioned.

Notwithstanding the repeated Invitations of the Bishop and Father *d'Acosta*, we yet did not think proper to spend the rest of the Day in *Coolan*. Accordingly we embarked about four in the Afternoon, in hopes of reaching, next Day, *Manpooli*, five or six Leagues farther, and to celebrate Mass in the Church which the *Portuguese* Jesuits still possess in that City. But the Sea was so extremely rough, and broke upon the Coast with so much Fury, that we were forced to proceed forward without landing.

During this Voyage, which was ever along the Coasts of *Malabar* and *Trevancor*, we had an Opportunity of observing the true Situation of the Lands and Towns, which are set down very erroneously in all our Maps and Charts. As soon as Brother *Moricet*, whom I left in *Manaper*, shall come hither, I'll do myself the Honour to send you an accurate Map of this whole Country, which is vastly populous; we scarce coasting two Leagues without discovering Villages and large Settlements. Our Maps take Notice of some Islands on the Coast of

* Pieces of Music commonly play'd in Churches, being as so many Anthems, in which the Composer endeavours to exert all the Powers of his Skill.

Travancor, but we sought for them to no Purpose. From *Calicut* to Cape *Comorin*, there is but one single Island ||, within two Leagues of *Calicut*. That Island is not taken Notice of in our Maps ; and for this Reason, perhaps, because 'tis so very near the Continent.

After sailing a Fortnight from *Tremepatan*, we at last arrived at *Periepatam*, where we met with the Reception abovementioned. The Festival of St. *Andrew*, to whom the Church of that Town is dedicated, had drawn thither several Missionaries from other Parts ; and a prodigious Number of Christians were come from the neighbouring Countries, to partake, that Day, of our holy Mysteries. 'Tis scarce a League from *Periepatam* to *Topo*, which is as the College of *Malabar*, and there the Provincial commonly resides. The Fathers of *Topo* gave us so very humane a Reception, that we soon forgot our past Fatigues ; and they engaged us to accompany them to *Cotate*, there to celebrate the Festival of St. *Francis Xavier*. But just as this Festival was going to be solemnized, an Order came from the Governour of the Town to forbid it ; the reason of which Prohibition was as follows. A Widow of Distinction in that Town had been preparing, three Months, to offer up a public sacrifice to the Devil, to which she was prompted by Interest, or Superstition, or both. A Desire of vexing the Christians, whom she mortally hated, and of assembling a greater Number of People at her House, made her purposely chuse, for the celebrating that accursed Ceremony, the very Day devoted to St. *Francis Xavier*, which never fails to draw a prodigious Number of Foreigners to *Cotate*. In a large Parlour or Hall in her House, standing not far from the Apostle's Church, she had already raised three Columns of Earth, three or four Foot high, disposed triangu-

|| This Island is not set down in *Moll's* Maps.

larly,

larly, and standing above six Foot from one another. She had long fattened very carefully a Hog, to serve as the Victim, which was to be sacrificed with her own Hands, between these Columns. The wealthiest and most distinguished Persons of the Town, belonging to her *Caste*, were to attend the Ceremony at the Time appointed. Nothing was now wanting but an Order from the Governour, for permitting the Sacrifice to be performed on a certain Day, and for forbidding the Christians to solemnize the Festival in question. She procured the desir'd Order; and the Affair was managed with the utmost Secrecy till the Beginning of *December*, when the Missionary, who has the Care of that famous Church, had Notice of it. He now did not lose a Moment's Time; but instead of waiting upon the Governour of the Town, who had issued out the Order, he went directly to the Governour of the Province. He represented to him the great Uneasiness this could not fail to give the Crowds of People who were come at a vast Distance to solemnize the Festival of *St. Francis Xavier*; and the Injury which would thereby be done to the Memory of the Apostle of the *Indies*, if instead of solemnizing his Festival, the Governour should permit the Heathens to offer up one of those abominable Sacrifices to the Devil, who was so highly detested by *St. Francis Xavier*, that miraculous Man. The Remonstrance made by the Father had the desired Effect; the Governour of the Province issuing out Orders for celebrating the Christian Festival as usual, and for postponing the Heathen Sacrifice. I am told that the idolatrous Priestesses perform their Sacrifices in Manner following.

The Assembly being all met in the large Parlour in question, the Priestess goes between the three Columns, and begins to invoke the Devil, by uttering certain mysterious Words with strange Howlings, and

and violent Contorsions of her whole Body. This is accompanied by different Instruments of Music, the Sounds of which change according to the various Spirits who seem to possess her, by Turns. At last a certain sacred Air is play'd, and the Instant it begins, the Fury starts up, takes a Knife, stabs the Hog, and rushing on the Wound, drinks the reeking Blood. She then cries aloud, prophecies, threatens the Town and Province with dreadful Punishments, in the Name of the Devil, by whom she is, or pretends to be inspired, in case the Persons present refuse to give her whatever she shall ask, whether Gold, Silver, Jewels, Rice, Linen, in short, any Thing: And these mad Priestesses generally terrify the Spectators to such a Degree, that they sometimes draw to the Value of two or three hundred Crowns from them *.

The City of *Cotate* is large and populous, tho' like most other Cities of *India*, it is not surrounded either with Ditches or Walls. It stands up the Country, within four Leagues of Cape *Comorin*, at the Foot of Mountains, which makes this Cape famous for the Wonders told concerning it; several affirming that in this Neck of Land, the Extent of which is not above three Leagues, we find, at one and the same Time, the two most opposite Seasons of the Year, Summer and Winter; and that, in a Garden not five hundred Paces square, a Person has sometimes the Pleasure of seeing these two Seasons united; the Trees, on one Side, being adorned with Fruits and Flowers; whilst those on the other are stript of all their Foliage. I myself had not Time to be an Eye-Witness of the Truth or Falsity

* 'Tis pleasant enough to consider how one Impostor will ridicule another; the Jesuits, by Means of their St. *Francis Xavier*, endeavouring no less to impose on the Credulity and Stupidity of the Ignorant, than these Heathen Priestesses by their Sacrifices.

of this †; but 'tis certain that, on the different Sides of the Cape, the Winds are always in contrary Points, and blow as tho' they were combating; so that when the Winds are westerly, on the western Side of Cape *Comorin*, they are East on the eastern Side, as we ourselves found by Experience in this Voyage. From *Calicut* to Cape *Comorin*, the Wind blew almost always South-east, or South-west; but the Moment we had past the Cape, it blew North-east. As therefore the Diversity of Winds, especially when lasting, contributes very much to the Difference of Seasons; 'tis not impossible but that there may be, about the Point of the Cape, in a small Tract of Land, particular Spots so much exposed to one of the Winds, and screen'd so fully from the other; that either Cold or Heat, and the Impressions which arise from them, may be felt at the same Time, in Places pretty near one another, as strongly as in other Places, at a much greater Distance. But I leave to our *Literati* the searching into the Physical Cause of this Contrariety of Winds which is not found elsewhere; tho' one would naturally imagine, that as the Principles are the same, like Effects should be produced in other Countries. Here, Reverend Father, would be the proper Place

† 'Tis found by Experience, that the Rains begin much sooner on the *Malabar* Coast than on that of *Cormandel*, tho' both are situated in the same Climate, and not fifty Leagues distant one from the other. The Learned are of Opinion, that this Diversity of Weather and of Seasons, is owing to *Mount-Gate* (of a very great Height) the long Ridge of which, running from North to South, divides the Peninsula, and stops the West Wind, which brings the Rains to both. Thus, as 'tis often wet on the *Malabar* Coast, when 'tis quite fair on that of *Cormandel*, many Travellers declare, that 'tis Summer on one Side of the Coast, and Winter on the other; which Circumstance is, in all Probability, owing to the Rain's falling four or five Weeks sooner on the *Malabar* Side, than on that of *Cormandel*; the westerly Winds generally bringing Rain, which commonly falls first on such Countries as lie to Windward.

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for one to present you with an accurate Description of the whole Country lying between *Cotate* and *Pondicherry*, since I myself visited it in the present Voyage; but to do this, more Time would be requisite; and I am desired to conclude my Letter, for which Reason, I must omit, till another Opportunity, the rest of the curious Particulars I intended to mention. I shall only observe, that the Christians at *Tanjaour* have lately laboured under a dreadful Persecution.

I am, &c.

TACHARD.

N. B. *The next Letter from Father Petit to Father de Trevou, and dated at Pondicherry, relating entirely to the Affairs of the Society, is therefore omitted.*

Vol. IV. of the Original begins here.

A Journey to ABYSSINIA.

To the JESUITS of FRANCE.

Reverend Fathers.

I Believe that the Account of Ethiopia, which I now give you, will be found very curious. 'Twas communicated to me by Dr. Charles James Poncet, a French Physician, who travelled into that Country with a Missionary Jesuit. You possibly may be glad to know the Motive of their undertaking so tedious and painful a Journey. The Emperor of Ethiopia being afflicted with a Distemper, whose Consequences he thought might prove fatal to him; and not meeting with Physicians in his own Dominions able to cure him, thought it but prudent to send into other Countries for a skilful Person. Hearing, at this Time, that one of his Officers was troubled with the same Kind of Disease, he sent him to Grand Cairo, in order that if he could get cured in this City, he might bring the Physician to him. This Officer, whose Name was Hagi-Ali, and who had

gone

gone that Journey more than once, informed an Armenian, his Friend, there, of the Motive which had brought him again to Cairo; when the Armenian, knowing Dr. Poncet's Abilities by Experience, (he having formerly cured him of a very violent and very dangerous Distemper) introduced his Friend to the Doctor.

Hagi-Ali, on the Recommendation of the Armenian, put himself into Dr. Poncet's Hands, took his Medicines, observed the Regimen prescribed, and was perfectly recovered in a little Time. He therefore intreated the Doctor to travel with him into Ethiopia, in order that he might perform the like Cure on his Sovereign, which Dr. Poncet consented to, and immediately prepared to follow the Ethiopian Officer. Our Missionaries, who had already attempted several Times, but with ill Success *, to enter this wide-extend-

* Ludolf, who is esteemed the best Writer on Ethiopia, informs us, that the Abyssinians formerly acknowledged the Pope of Rome as the chief Patriarch. Some Portuguese Missionaries, after the Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, almost made Roman Catholics of the Ethiopians, and prevailed upon the Monarch to acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy, and to admit a Patriarch from Rome. The Government also consented to abolish their own Rites, and set up those of the Church of Rome; but many of their great Men, and most Part of the People opposing this, took up Arms against the Emperour, which gave Rise to civil Wars, of above a hundred Years Continuance, wherein Multitudes of People were killed. During this, many Provinces revolted from the Emperour; notwithstanding which, the Monarchs persisted obstinately in their Profession of the Romish Religion. At last the Jesuits, upon Pretence of maintaining the Papal Supremacy, undertook the Management of Temporal Affairs, in an arbitrary Manner, and almost exclusive of the Emperour. They even ventured to go so far, as to erect Forts, which they mann'd, and were going to send for European Troops. But now the Emperour and the Nobility awaked from their Lethargy, and immediately agreed to abolish the Romish Religion, and to massacre the Priests, who accordingly fell the Victims of the People, the Patriarch himself very narrowly escaping out of the Country with his Life. Three Capucins attempting afterwards to get into Ethiopia, the Turkish Basha, at the Emperour's Request, beheaded them, and sent him their Heads and their Skins stuff'd.

ed Empire, imagined it would be proper to make Use of so favourable a Juncture, to execute their Design; for which Purpose they consulted with Dr. Poncet and Monsieur Maillet ||, the French Consul at Grand Cairo. 'Twas then agreed that one of our Missionaries should accompany Dr. Poncet to Ethiopia, and go as his Servant †, for fear of giving Umbrage to a Nation, whose Disposition with regard to the Europeans, was not yet well known. This was an important Commission, and required a Man of great Abilities and Zeal; since he was to inform himself, on the Spot, of the State of the Christian Religion; and see what was to be done, in order to restore, if possible, the Romish Religion in a Country where it formerly had made a very great Progress, under the Patriarchs John Nunez Baretto, Andrew Oviedo, Apollinarius of Almeida, and several other Jesuit-Missionaries.

Father de Brevedent, of a very good Family in the City of Roan, was pitched upon for this Purpose, he being endued with all the Qualities requisite for so difficult and important an Enterprize. The Scheme he gave for a new Machine, for finding the perpetual Motion in 1685, engraved in the Journals of that Time, gain'd him no little Reputation among the Learned, and shewed the great Penetration of his Genius. Engaging afterwards in Missions, he laboured indefatigably above ten Years in the Islands of the Archipelago and in Syria. In a Word, the whole Tenor of his Life was so perfect that he was considered as a true Apostle. His Austerities were so extreme, when labouring among the Infidels, that his ordinary Food was Bran soak'd in Water, with some Herbs or Roots. He used to lie on the bare Ground; to pass two or three Hours every Night in Prayer; and scourge himself so unmercifully twice a-

|| He published an Account of Egypt not many Years since. I write this in 1742.

† This Disguise is exactly agreeable to the Genius of the Jesuits.

day,

day *, that his Superiours being informed that it would be impossible for him to support much longer so very mortified a Life, were obliged to soften the Rigour of his Penance, to prevent their losing a Person so useful to the Mission.

The following Relation is very curious ; for, besides the Account it gives of the Dominions of the Kings of Dongola †, of Sennar, and of Mecca, it informs us likewise of several very remarkable Particulars concerning Ethiopia, that Empire, so very famous, whether we consider the vast Extent of its Dominions, the Multitude of its Inhabitants, or their professing the Christian Religion in the first Ages of the Church. But as the Abyssinians were so happy as to receive the Light of the Gospel in the first Ages of Christianity, they have been so unfortunate as to lose that precious Advantage, by imbibing the Errors of the Cophtis or Eutychians, and forming a Schism in the Church.

How ample a Harvest might be made in so wide-extended a Field, by able and zealous Missionaries, who should devote themselves to the cultivating of it ; especially at a Time when the Conjunctions are more favourable than ever !

The greatest Obstacle, formerly, to the Conversion of the Abyssinians, was the Obstinacy of the schismatic Patriarchs of Alexandria, who opposed the Establishment of the Catholic Religion with all their Might. But as the present Patriarch is a Catholic, he is no less desirous than we can be, of seeing all the People of Ethiopia open their Eyes, and embrace the Truths of the Gospel, as he himself did not long since.

His Majesty and his Holiness intend to send Missionaries into this extended Empire ; and wishing that

* What an Inconsistency was there in this Character ! a Man to have a Mind capable of going through a Course of polite Literature, and making Discoveries in the Mathematics, and yet be so weak as to scourge himself daily ! Surely this must have been done by Father *le Bredevent*, merely in the View of promoting the general Scheme of the Jesuits, or Father *le Gobien* must have told this of him falsely, merely in the same View.

† I suppose this is what Moll calls *Dancala*.

their Endeavours may be crown'd with Success, I subscribe myself, with the utmost Respect, &c.

CHARLES LE GOBIEN.

A succinct Account of the Travels of CHARLES-JAMES PONCET, a French Physician, into Ethiopia, in 1698, 1699, and 1700.

I Set out from *Grand Cairo*, the Capital of *Egypt*, the 10th of *June* 1698, with *Hagi Ali*, an Officer under the Emperour of *Ethiopia*, and Father *Charles Francis Xavier* of *Brevedent*, a Jesuit Missionary. We embarked on the *Nile* at *Boolack* *, half a League from that City. As the Waters were low, and our Pilots very unskilful, we spent a Fortnight in reaching *Manfeloo*, tho' this Voyage is commonly performed in five Days, when the River is swell'd, and the Wind favourable. *Manfeloo* is a City of *Upper Egypt*, famous for its Traffic in Linens. The Grand Signior keeps a Garison there of five hundred Janisaries and two hundred Spahis, to prevent the Incurfions of the *Arabs*, who infest every Part of that Country.

The Rendezvous of the Caravans of *Sennar* and *Ethiopia* is at *Ibnali*, half a League above *Manfeloo*. We encamp'd in that Village, till such Time as the whole Caravan might be assembled; and continued there above three Months, under our Tents, where we suffered very much; the Heat of that Country being insupportable, especially to *Europeans*, who are not accustomed to it. The Rays of the Sun are

* Or *Bulac*. This is the Port-Town to *Grand Cairo*, and by some considered as a Suburb of it. There are about four thousand Families in this Town, where a considerable Trade is carried on. All Vessels who go up the *Nile* stop here, and pay the Duties enacted by the Government.

so scorching, that, from ten in the Morning, till Night, we could scarce breathe. After having purchased Camels, and got all the Provisions necessary for crossing the Desarts of *Lybia*, we left this disagreeable Abode the 24th of *September*, at three in the Afternoon; and went and lay a League and a half from thence, on the eastern Side of the *Nile*, at a Place call'd *Cantara*, where we also were obliged to encamp some Days, to wait for the Merchants of *Girga* and *Syoot*, who were not yet arrived.

A Relation of the King of *Sennar* invited me to go to *Syoot*, and for that Purpose sent me an *Arabian* Horse. I cross'd the *Nile* on a very large Bridge, built of beautiful Free-stone. I believe 'tis the only Bridge on this River, and I got to my Journey's End in four Hours. I saw the Ruins of an old magnificent Amphitheatre, with some sepulchral Monuments of the ancient *Romans*. The City of *Syoot* is surrounded with delicious Gardens, and beautiful Palm-trees, which bear the finest Dates in all *Egypt*. Finding our whole Company met at my Return, we set out very early on the 2d of *October*, and that very Day entered a frightful Desart. Travellers are exposed to great Danger in these Desarts, occasioned by the moving Sands, which rising with the gentlest Breeze, darken the Air; and falling back again like Rain, often bury Travellers under them, or make them lose their Way. The greatest Order possible is observed in the March of the Caravans. Besides the chief Man, whose Business it is to determine all Disputes and Contests, there are Guides who march at the Head of the Caravan, and give the Signal either for going forward or halting, by beating a small Kettle-Drum. The Travellers set out three or four Hours before Day, at which Time all the Camels and Beasts of Burthen must be ready. Any Person who loses Sight of the Caravan, or goes astray from it, is in great Danger of perishing;

ing ; but the Conductors are so skilful, that tho' not even the smallest Footsteps or Marks are seen on the Sand, they yet never go out of their Way. After travelling in this Manner till Noon, the Company halt half an Hour without unlading the Camels ; when resting themselves a little, they then go on till three or four Hours after Sun-set. As Travellers have always the same Rank or Place, at every Encampment as the first Day they set out, there never happens the least Dispute on that Account *.

We

* The best Relation I have seen of the Manner of the travelling with the Caravan is this. The Guides conduct themselves either by a Sea-Compass, or by the Stars. A Caravan consists often of two or three hundred Men, and perhaps of a thousand Beasts of different Kinds, to secure them from the Incursion of the *Arabs*. The several Merchandises are carried either on Camels or Dromedaries (whose Shape is much the same) and the Camel will carry seven hundred Weight, there being no Wheel-Carriages in *Arabia*, &c. The above-mentioned Beasts kneel down, to take up their Burden ; and will travel, when requisite, six Days or more without drinking. There are no Inns on those Roads, for which Reason Travellers carry Provisions and Tents, which they don't set up except in bad Weather ; they chusing, when it is fair, to lodge in the open Air, for Fear of the thievish *Arabs*. The Slaves and Servants dress their Masters Victuals on the Road in Manner following ; they make a Hole in the Ground, and there they make a Fire, and boil the Meat, &c. As little Water is found in the Desarts, the Travellers provide themselves with some, which they carry in Goat-skins.

Before the Caravan first sets out, the Merchants elect, from among their Body, a Commander or Captain *Basha*, who regulates the Order of the March, and settles all Controversies which may happen. But as there is room for committing various Frauds in this Employment, (as these Captains pay the Duties, &c. in the Journey) few honest Men are willing to accept of it. The Merchants commonly ride on Mules or Horses ; and the poorer Sort of them on Asses. The *Europeans* are obliged to carry their Wine in Skins, on Horses ; the Camel-Masters, who are *Mohammedans*, not permitting their Camels to be loaded with Wine, this Beast being sacred to *Mohammed*.

The Caravans sometimes travel six Hours, and at other times twelve every Day, according as they meet with Water, they halting at those Places, where they meet with any. Every Master

TRAVELS of the JESUITS. 185

We arrived the 6th of *October* at *Helaoia*, a pretty large Town, and the last subject to the Grand Signior. It has a Garison of five hundred Janizaries and three hundred Spahis, commanded by an Offi-

Master, with his Servants, rides about his Goods, particularly, if the Night is dark; and this on account of a Sett of cunning Thieves, who at those Times, sometimes cut the Strings by which the Beasts are fastned to one another, and then drive them away to some Distance before the Loss is perceived. One great Inconveniency which those who travel in Caravans often meet with is, that as Water is generally found only in Wells and Cisterns, whence not more than two or three People can draw Water at a Time, the Travellers are sometimes forced to stay two Hours, or more, before they can get any; which is owing to the Rudeness of the Camel-Drivers, who will not suffer any Person to draw Water, till they have first regaled their several Beasts. 'Tis necessary that the *European* Travellers wear a *Mohammedan* Dress, or put on an *Arabian* Vest and Cap, to prevent their being stoppt at some Towns; as well as several other Inconveniencies. They also must provide themselves with Boots, and these are as easy to walk in as Shoes; but they don't need to get Spurs, the Horses being prick'd forward with an Iron fix'd to the Stirrup. When the Caravan stops, after Sun-set, to spend the Night, a Sett of poor People, who make it their Business to attend on these Occasions, walk about the Fields like Watchmen, crying aloud, *God is one, Be watchful of yourselves*: And when the Time proper for marching is nigh, they give Notice of it to the Captain of the Caravan, who immediately commands them to cry, Saddle your Horses, and load your Goods. All this is done with surprizing Dispatch; and the whole Caravan proceeds forward with the greatest Order and Silence. If the next Stage is long, and they cannot arrive at it till about an Hour or two before Noon, the Merchants spread their Carpets and sit down to Breakfast; during which the Beasts advance forward slowly with their Burdens.

'Tis said that upwards of forty thousand Pilgrims go to *Mecca* yearly, to visit *Mohammed's* Tomb; the Grand Signior giving the fourth Part of the Revenues of *Egypt* towards defraying the Expences of the Caravan. This vast Body of Devotees is accompanied with Soldiers, to protect them from the Incursions of the *Arabs*; and followed by eight or nine thousand Camels, laden with Provisions necessary for so long a Journey through the Desarts. One of the Camels carries the golden Standard, which is offered up with great Ceremony to *Mohammed*. Several Caravans set out annually from *Aleppo*, *Grand Cairo*, &c. for *Persia*, *Mecca*, &c.

cer, call'd in that Country *Kashif*. *Helaoüa* is a delightful Place, and answers exactly to its Name, which signifies, *the Country of Delights or Sweets*. We there see a great many Gardens watered with Rivulets, and a vast Number of Palm-trees, which have a perpetual Verdure. There we find *Coloquintida* *; and all the Fields are overspread with *Sena*, which grows on a Shrub about three Foot high. This Drug, of which the *Europeans* have so high an Opinion, is not made any Use of in this Country. The Inhabitants of *Helaoüa*, when indisposed, never take any other Remedy but the Root of the *Esula*, which they steep in Milk a whole Night, and drink next Morning after passing it through a Sieve. This Physic is exceedingly strong, but those People like it, and praise it exceedingly. The † *Esula* is a great Tree, with a blue Flower. This Flower forms a kind of oval Ball full of Cotton, and with this the Inhabitants make tolerably fine Linen.

We stopt four Days at *Helaoüa*, to supply ourselves with Water and Provisions, as we were going to cross a Desert, where not a single Spring or Rivulet are found. The Heats are so violent, and the Sands of those Deserts so very scorching, that such as walk bare-footed, always find their Feet swell in a surprizing Manner. Nevertheless, the Nights are pretty cold, which afflict those who travel in this Country with grievous Distempers, if they don't take the utmost Care of themselves. After travelling two Days we arrived at *Chabba* ‖, a Country full of Allum; and three Days after at *Selyme*,

* A wild Kind of Gourd, extremely bitter, and employed in purgative Remedies.

† The *Esula* is also a Kind of Plant called Milk-Thistle: When corrected, 'tis given to Persons afflicted with the Dropsy.

‖ *Chabba* in Arabic signifies *Allum*. At *Chabba* begins the Kingdom of Gondola, dependant on that of Sennar.

where

where we drew Water, to serve us five Days, from an excellent Spring situated in the Midst of that Desert. These wide-extended Solitudes, where we meet neither with Birds, wild Beasts, Grass, nor even so much as a Gnat; and see nothing but Mountains of Sand, Carcases and Bones of Camels, strike the Soul with I know not what Horror, which makes the Travelling here quite tedious and disagreeable. 'Twould be extremely difficult to cross these frightful Deserts without the Assistance of Camels. These Beasts can pass six or seven Days without eating or drinking; a Circumstance I myself should never have believed, had I not been a careful Observer of it. A yet more wonderful Incident of this Kind is as follows, the Truth of which was assured me by a venerable old Man, Brother to the Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, who was in our Caravan. He declared that he travelled twice from *Selyme* to *Sudan*, in the Country of the Negroes; and that having employed each Time forty Days in crossing the Deserts lying that Way, the Camels of his Caravan did not once eat or drink during all that Time*. Three or four Hours Rest every Night supports them; and compensates for the Want of Food,

* What we are told by the Authors of the *Missions etrangeres*, in their last Relation, is equally surprizing. They inform us as follows concerning some Christians of *Cochin-China*, who died for their Religion.

Of the four remaining who continued in Prison, three struggled with Hunger and Thirst, for perhaps a much longer Time than could be believed by the Europeans, till they died; for I am of Opinion these would scarce think it possible for them to live so long as they did without eating and drinking. The first was Mr. Laurenço (Lorenzo) who did not expire till the fortieth Day of his Imprisonment. The holy old Man Anthony followed him three Days after; and Madam Agnes languished till the forty sixth Day, and then quietly breath'd her last. [This Note is by Father le Gobien.] . . . The Protestant (and less credulous) Reader, will probably think the Accounts given here a Fiction, considering the Quarter it comes from, and the Motive for mentioning it.

which

which must not be given them till after they have drank, for otherwise they would burst.

The Kingdom of *Sudan* lies to the West of *Sennar*. The Merchants of *Upper Egypt* go thither to purchase Gold and Slaves. The Kings of *Sennar* and *Sudan* are commonly at War. As to the Mules and Asses, which also are made Use of for crossing these Deserts, they are allowed only a small Measure of Water daily.

The 26th of *October* we arrived at *Machoo*, a large Town * on the eastern Shore of the *Nile*. This River forms here two large Islands abounding with Palm-trees, Sena, and Coloquintida. *Machoo*, the only Place inhabited from *Helaoüa*, is in the Province of *Fungee* †. It is subject to the King of *Sennar*; and here begins the Country of the *Baroras*, call'd by us *Barbarins*. The *Erbab*, or Governour of this Province, being informed that the Emperour of *Ethiopia* had sent for us to Court, invited us to *Argos*, the Place of his Residence. This Town stands opposite to *Machoo*, on the other Side of the *Nile*, and we went thither in a Boat. The Governour received us with great Civility, and entertained us two Days, which, after the violent Fatigues we had undergone, was extremely agreeable. The chief Officer of the Customs, who is Son to the King of *Dongola* ‖, lives also at *Argos*. This Prince never appears in public but on Horseback, his Horse being covered with two hundred little Brass Bells, which make a great Noise; and attended by twenty Horsemen, and two hundred Soldiers armed

* The French is *grosse Bourgade*, which is the Diminutive of *Bourg*, an Assemblage of Houses, between a City and a Village. In my Version I generally translate *Bourg* a Town, and *Bourgade* a small Town.

† Called *Fungi*, in our Maps.

‖ This King of *Dongola*, or *Dancala*, can hardly be a powerful Prince.

with Lances and Sabres. He came and searched our Tents, where we presented him with Coffee, and paid the Duties, consisting in Soap and Linens. He did us the Honour to invite us next Day to Dinner, and we waited upon him accordingly at the Time appointed. His Palace is spacious, and built of Brick dried in the Sun. The Walls are very lofty; and flank'd, at Intervals, with large Square Towers, but without Port-Holes, there being no Cannon in that Country, Muskets being the only Fire-arms used there.

After staying a Week at *Machoo*, we left it the fourth of *November*, and arrived the 13th at *Dongola*. The whole Country we pass'd through to this City, and even to that of *Sennar*, is extremely agreeable, but not above a League in Breadth. Beyond it we meet with nothing but frightful Desarts. The *Nile* runs through the Middle of this delicious Plain. Its Banks are high; so that the Fertility of this Country is not owing, as in *Egypt*, to the Inundation of that River, but to the Labour and Industry of the Inhabitants. As it rains extremely seldom in these Parts, the People raise, by the Help of certain Wheels turned by Oxen, a prodigious Quantity of Water, which they carry through the several Lands to Reservoirs dug to receive it; and hence they afterwards draw it, whenever they want to water their Lands, which otherwise would be barren.

Money is not the Medium here for Traffic, every Thing of that Kind being carried on by Barter, as in the Infant Ages of the World. Travellers purchase whatever Provisions they want, by giving in Exchange, Pepper, Anise, Fennel, Cloves, Choorga, or Wool died blue, *French Spikenard* *,

* A Species of Lavender, whence the *Oleum Spicæ* is distilled.

Egyptian * *Mabaleb*, and such like. Their only Food is Bread made of *Dora*, a small round Berry, with which they also make a kind of muddy, very ill-tasted Beer. As this Liquor will not keep, they are obliged to make it almost every Hour. Any Man who has got some *Dora*-Bread, and a Gourd-Bottle full of the unpalatable Liquor above-mentioned, of which they drink such Quantities as to grow intoxicated, thinks himself happy, and enabled to make good Cheer. Tho' these *Africans* live upon such slender Nourishment, they yet enjoy Health, and are more robust and vigorous than the *Europeans*. Their Houses are low, built of Earth, and covered with *Dora*-Reeds: But their Horses are perfectly beautiful, and the People are very skilful in breeding them for the *Manège*. The Backs of their Saddles † are very high, which tires the Rider very much. Persons of Quality go bare-headed, and with their Hair disposed agreeably in Tresses. Their whole Dress is only a sleeveless, rude Vest; and a Kind of Sole, which they tie with Thongs. The common People throw a Piece of Linen round them an hundred different Ways, but the Children go almost naked. All the Men carry a Lance, and this they take with them wherever they go. The Iron of it is hook'd, and some are very neat. Those who have Swords, wear them hanging at their Left-Arm. Oaths and blasphemous Expressions are very common among these rude ig-

* I know not whether this is a Kind of wild Cherry, or a Sloe. According to some 'tis the *Vaccinium* or Black-Berry; whilst others say that 'tis a Shrub with which they die Purple in *France*. I suppose the *Mabaleb* bartered in the Country, treated of in the Text, was used for dying.

† The Original is, *Leurs selles ont des appuis bien hauts*, by which I suppose is meant, that there are Backs to them, as to those in some Countries of *Europe*; or else, that they are raised very high on the Sides; and tire the Rider's Arms very much, when leaning on them.

ignorant *Africans*, who, at the same time, are such Debauchees, that they have not the least Idea of Politeness, Modesty, or Religion; for tho' they now profess *Mohammedanism*, they know nothing of it, except their Confession of Faith, and this they repeat incessantly. A deplorable Circumstance, and which drew Tears from Father *de Brevedent*, my dear Companion, is, that this People, not long since, professed the Christian Religion, and lost it purely for want of Persons zealous enough to devote themselves to their Instruction. We saw, in our Way, a great many Hermits Cells, and Churches half ruined.

We travelled but gently from *Machoo* to *Dongola*, to ease ourselves after our long journeying through the Desert. That Country had been infested, but two Years before, with the Plague. It had raged with so much Violence in *Grand Cairo*, where I happened to be that Year, and on which Occasion I attended the Sick, that 'twas affirmed ten thousand Persons died of it daily *. This dreadful Scourge made miserable Havock in every Part of *Upper Egypt*, and in the Country of the *Barberins*; so that we found several Towns, as likewise a great Number of Villages, uninhabited; and wide-extended Plains which had formerly been very fruitful, were now quite uncultivated and abandoned.

Being got within Sight of the City of *Dongola*, the Leader of our Caravan left us, and went and waited upon the King, to desire Leave for him and his Company to enter it, which he was graciously permitted to do. We were then in a Village, which is as a kind of Suburb to that City; and we cross'd the River in a Boat kept by the Prince for the Use of the Public. The Goods pay a certain Duty, but Passengers are carried *gratis*. The City of *Don-*

* The Plague is said to sweep away prodigious Numbers in this City once every seven Years.

gola *, stands on the Eastern Banks of the *Nile*, on the Declivity of a dry, sandy Hill. The Houses are very ill-built; and the Streets half deserted, and choaked with Heaps of Sand, which the great Floods force down from the Mountains. The Castle stands in the Center of the City, and is very spacious, but poorly fortified; however, it serves as a Check to the *Arabs*, who inhabit the Plains, where they are permitted to feed their Cattle undisturbed, on paying a small Tribute to the *Mek* † or King of *Dongola*. We had the Honour to eat several Times with this Prince, but at a separate Table. In our first Audience, he was dressed in a green Velvet Vest that reached to the Ground. He has a numerous Guard. Those who are near his Person carry a long Sword before him, but unsheathed; and the outward Guards are armed with Half-Pikes. This Prince came and visited us in our Tent; and as I had been successful in some Cures, he invited us to reside at his Court; but the Instant he heard that we were under Engagements to the Emperour of *Ethiopia*, he did not offer to stop us. His Kingdom is Hereditary, but he pays a Tribute to the King of *Sennar*.

We left *Dongola* the 6th of *January* 1699; and four Days after entered the Kingdom of *Sennar*. *Ibrahim* the Governor, Brother to the King's Prime Minister, whom we met on the Frontiers, received us honourably, and defrayed the Expences of our Journey as far as *Korty*, a large Town on the *Nile*, whither we arrived the 13th of *January*, he accompanying us to that Place. As the Nations who live above *Korty*, along the *Nile*, have taken up Arms against the King of *Sennar*, and plunder the Cara-

* If this *Dongola*, is, as I suppose it to be, *Dancala*, this City is situated to the West of the *Nile*, in our Maps.

† The Name of the present *Mek*, (in the Year 1700) or *Malek* of *Dongola* is *Achmet*.

vans whenever they pass through their Country; Travellers are obliged to pass at a Distance from the Banks of that River; then proceed forward between the *West* and *South*; and enter the vast Defart of *Bibooda*, which can't be crossed in less than five Days, though with ever so great Speed. This Defart is not so frightful as those of *Lybia*, since nothing is found in those but Sand; whereas we here meet with Herbs and Trees. After crossing it, we returned to the Banks of the *Nile*, and arrived at *Derrara*, a Town where we stopt two Days. This Country abounds with Provisions, which probably is the Reason why the Inhabitants call it *Beladalla*, or *God's Country*. We left it the 26th, and travelled Westward. We don't meet with a single Village in all the way; but the Inhabitants, who incamp under Tents, bring Provisions to Travellers.

After travelling some Days we again come to the *Nile*, and arrived at *Guerry*. This is the Residence of a Governor, whose chief Business is to visit the Caravans which come from *Egypt*, in order to see whether some Persons in it may not have the Small-Pox; that Distemper being as dangerous, and making as great Havock in this Country, as the Plague in *Europe*. The Governor in Question paid us great Civilities, out of Respect to the Throne of *Ethiopia*, for by this Name the Emperor of *Ethiopia* is distinguished; and dispensed with our performing Quarrentain, as is the Custom in that Place where we crossed the *Nile*.

The manner of crossing that River is very particular. The Passengers and Goods are put into a Bark; but the Beasts are fastened, at the Head and under the Belly, with Ropes, which are either drawn tighter, or slackened, according as the Bark goes forward. The Beasts swim, but suffer greatly in their Passage, and some of them even lose their

O

Lives;

Lives; for though the *Nile* is not wide at this Place, 'tis deep and rapid. We left *Guerry* the 1st of *February*, and went and lay at *Alfaa*, a large Village built of Free-Stone. The Inhabitants are tall and well-shaped.

After having travelled *North-East*, to get clear of the great Windings of the *Nile*, and passed by the Village of *Alfon*, of *Cotran*, and of *Camin*: After crossing a large Island not specified in our Maps, we arrived at the Town of *Harbagee*, where we met with Plenty of Provisions, and reposed ourselves a little. The following Days we passed thro' Forests of *Acacia* *, whose lofty, Thorny Trees were adorned with Yellow and Blue Flowers, the last of which diffuse a very agreeable Fragrance. These Groves abound with small Green Paroquets; with a kind of Wood-hens, and a multitude of other Birds not found in *Europe*. At our leaving these delightful Forests, we entered into vast Plains which appeared exceedingly fruitful, and very well cultivated: and travelling some Time in these, we at last, discovered the City of *Sennar* †, whose Situation seemed enchanting.

This City, which is near a League and half in Circumference, is very populous, but far from being neat, and is very ill-governed. *Sennar* is thought to contain about an Hundred Thousand Souls. It stands on the *West* of the *Nile*, on an Eminence,

* A Term in Botany, given to various Trees, though very different one from the other. A Tree of this Name (also called *Cassia*) grows in *Egypt*, and is called in *Latin*, *Spina Ægyptia*. It answers pretty nearly to the Description given of this Tree; and from it *Gum Arabic*, and a Juice called the *True Acacia* are taken. Other Trees of a different kind, tho' called by the same Name, grow in *Malabar*, in *Mesopotamia*, the Desarts of *Arabia*, *Brazil*, *Virginia*, &c. *Acacia* is also a thick Liquid brought from the *Lewant* in Bladders. 'Tis an excellent Astringent.

† I could not find any of the Towns mentioned in this Journey from *Dancalq* to *Sennar*, in our Maps, and indeed no Towns are therein specified between them.

in Thirteen Degrees, Four Minutes, *North* Latitude, according to an Observation taken at Noon, the 21st of *March* 1699 *. The Houses are but one Story high, and ill-built; but their Terrasses, which serve as Roofs, are very commodious. As to the Suburbs, it consists of a number of poor Huts, made with Reeds. The King's Palace is surrounded with lofty Walls of Brick baked in the Sun. There does not appear the least Regularity in these Buildings, they being thrown up in a confused and tasteless manner. The Apartments of the Palace are richly adorned with large Carpets after the manner of the *Levant*.

The very next Day after our Arrival we were presented to the King. The very first Thing we did, at our going to this Audience, was to pull off our Shoes, a Ceremony which all Foreigners who have Access to the King, are obliged to observe; the Natives never being permitted to appear before him but bare-footed. We now entered a spacious Court, paved with a kind of Delft-Ware of various Colours. On every side of it Guards were standing armed with Lances. Having almost crossed this Court, we were stopt at a Stone lying near an open Hall, where the King generally gives Audience to Embassadors. We saluted the King after the Custom of the Country, by falling on our Knees, and kissing the Ground thrice. The Monarch is about nineteen Years old, black, but well-shaped and of a majestic Stature; he not having thick Lips, nor a flat Nose like those of his Subjects. He was seated on a very neat kind of Sofa, cross-legged, after the manner of the *Easterns*; and surrounded by about twenty old Men, seated like himself, but a little below him. The Monarch was dressed in a

* The City of *Sennar*, is situated more to the North in our Maps.

long filken Vest embroidered with Gold, having a kind of Scarf over it, made of very fine Cotton*. He wore on his Head a White Turbant; and the old Men were dressed much after the same Fashion. The Prime Minister, standing at the Entrance of the Hall, carried our Compliments to the King, and brought back his Answers. We saluted the Monarch a second Time, after the same manner as in the Court; and presented him with some Crystal-Glasses, &c. and several *European* Curiosities, with which he seemed mightily pleased. The different Questions he asked us, spoke him a Man of good Sense, and of an inquisitive Genius. He enquired into the Motives of our Journey, and professed the highest Regard and Attachment for the Person of the Emperor of *Ethiopia*. After continuing an Hour at this Audience, we withdrew, making three very low Bows. He caused us to be attended by his Guards to the House where we resided; and sent us large Vessels full of Butter, Honey, and other Refreshments; and likewise two Oxen and two Sheep.

This Prince goes twice a Week and dines at one of his Country-Seats, a League from the City. The Order of his March thither is as follows. First appear three or four hundred Horsemen, extremely well-mounted. Next comes the King amidst a great number of Servants, and armed Soldiers, who sing his Praises with a loud Voice; a Tabor sounding at the same Time, which makes a Harmony that is agreeable enough. Seven or eight hundred Maidens and married Women, walk confusedly with these Soldiers, carrying on their Heads large round Straw-Baskets, finely wrought

* *The Original is, est ceint d'une espece d'écharpe de toile de Coton très fine, which may mean, that he had a Sash of very fine Cotton round his Loins. The Word Echarpe, signifies sometimes a Shoulder-Belt, a Girdle, the covering for a Woman's Head or Shoulders, &c.*

and of various Colours. These Baskets representing Flowers of every kind, the Lids of which are in a Pyramidal Form, cover Copper Dishes, tinned over, and filled with Fruits and Viands ready dressed. These Dishes are served up to the King, and afterwards distributed among such as have the Honour of attending him. The March is closed by two or three hundred Horsemen, who proceed in the same Order as the first.

The King, who never appears in Public, but having his Face covered with a Piece of Silk-gawze of different Colours, sits down at Table the Moment of his Arrival. The most common Diversion of this Prince is, to propose Prizes to the Noblemen of his Court; and to shoot at a Mark with a Gun, with whose Use they are not yet very well acquainted. After spending the greatest Part of the Day in this Exercise, he returns to the City, in the Evening, in the same Order as he came from it in the Morning. He Travels in this manner every *Wednesday* and *Saturday*. The other Days of the Week he holds a Council Morning and Evening; and administers Justice to his Subjects, none of whose Crimes he permits to go unpunished. Prosecutions are not spun out to any Length here. The Moment a Criminal is seized he is carried before the Judge, who examines him; and, in Case he finds him guilty, condemns him to die, when the Sentence is immediately put in Execution. The Criminal being laid hold on, is thrown backwards on the Ground, and then beat with Clubs, on the Breast, till he expires. This kind of Punishment was inflicted, during our stay in *Sennar*, on one *Joseph*, an *Ethiopian*, who some Time before, had apostatized from the *Christian* Religion, and turned *Mohammedan*.

After this sad Execution, there was brought to me a sick *Mohammedan* Infant, about five or six Months

Months old, in order that I might cure her. As the Child was so ill that I had scarce any Hopes of her Recovery; Father *Brevedent* baptized her secretly, upon Pretence of giving her a Medicine; and the Child was so fortunate as to die, after having being received into Christ's Kingdom. One would conclude, that the wonderful Providence of God was pleased, by this happy Incident, to compensate for the Loss sustained by the weeping Parents. Father *Brevedent*, on the other Hand, was so overjoyed at his having opened the Gates of Heaven to this Babe, that he assured me with such Transports as Words could never express, that had he performed but this single Act in his Life-time, he should have thought himself amply rewarded for all the Fatigues and Toils he had undergone during this Journey.

Every Thing is vastly cheap at *Sennar*. A Camel costs but seven or eight Livres *, an Ox two Livres and a half, a Sheep Fifteen-pence, and a Hen a Penny; and so in Proportion for other Provisions. The People don't care for Wheaten Bread, and, therefore they never make any but for Foreigners. The Bread eaten by them is made of *Dora*, a small Grain or Berry mentioned before. This Bread is good, when new; but when above a Day old, 'tis so insipid that there's no eating it. 'Tis made in the Form of a large Cake, and about the Thickness of a Crown-Piece. The Merchandizes of this Country are, Elephant's Teeth, Tamarinds, Civet, Tobacco, Gold Dust, &c. The Market is held every Day in the open Square, in the Center of the City, where Provisions and Merchandizes of every kind are sold. There is another Market for Slaves, in the open Square before the

* Whenever our Author speaks of Money, we are to understand that of France. A Livre is worth Ten-pence, half-penny English. Twenty Pence, or Sols, make a Livre.

King's Palace. These sit on the Ground cross-legged, the Men and Boys on one Side, and the Women and Girls on the other. A very strong, robust Slave is purchased for Ten Crowns *, for which Reason the *Egyptian* Merchants carry off great Numbers of them annually.

The smallest Money used in *Sennar* is worth a Double †; and is a little Bit of Iron, shaped like St. *Anthony's* Cross. The *Fadda* comes from *Turkey*. 'Tis a Silver Piece, very thin; of a less Size than the *Denier* ‡; and is worth a little more than a *French Penny* or *Sol* ||. Besides these two Sorts of Coins, those in Use are only *Spanish Reals* and *Pieces of Eight*; and these must be round, the square Ones not passing current here. In this Country a Piece of Eight is worth about four Livres.

The Heats of *Sennar* ** are so violent, that a Person can scarce breathe in Day-time. These Heats begin in *January*, and end at the Close of *April*. They are succeeded by heavy Showers of Rain, which last Three Months, infect the Air, and cause a great Mortality among Men and Cattle. This is partly owing to the Indolence of the slovenly Inhabitants, who neglect to drain off the Waters; these stagnate, and afterwards corrupting, raise malignant Vapours.

These People are naturally knavish; and, at the same Time, very superstitious, and strongly attached to their Religion, which is the *Mohammedan*. Whenever they meet a *Christian* in the Streets, they

* A *French Crown* (consisting of Three Livres) is worth about Two Shillings and Nine-Pence, *English*.

† A *French Brass Coin* worth two Deniers.

‡ A *French Brass Coin*, the Twelfth Part of a Penny.

|| The Original is, *un Sol Marqué*, that is, a marked or stamped Penny; signifying a Stamp made, by the King of France's Order, on every Sol or Penny, to increase its Value a little.

** *Sennar*, in Arabic, signifies Poison and Fire.

always repeat their Confession of Faith, which is, *There is but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet.* They are not allowed Brandy, Wine, nor even Mead; and never drink any of those Liquors except in private. Their usual Liquor is a Sort of Beer something like that at *Dongola*. 'Tis called *Booza*; is vastly thick, very ill-tasted, and thus prepared. They roast at the Fire the Berry *Dora*; they then throw it into cold Water; and, after letting it soak Twenty-four Hours, drink it. They also are very fond of Coffee, which Liquor is not drunk in *Ethiopia*.

The Women of Quality wear a Garment of Silk or of very fine Cotton, with large Sleeves, which descend to the Ground. Their Hair is bound in Tresses; and adorned with Rings of Silver, Copper, Brass, Ivory, or Glass of different Colours. These Rings are fixed to their Hair in the Form of Crowns; and their Arms, Legs, Ears, and even Nostrils, are decked with them. Their Fingers are filled with Rings, the Stones of which are not true. They wear nothing on their Feet, but a Sole which is tied on with Strings. The Wives and Maidens among the common People, are covered only from the Girdle to the Knee.

The Merchandizes brought into the Kingdom of *Sennar* are Spices, Paper, Brass, Iron, Brass-Wire, Vermilion, White and Yellow Arsenic, Toys, *French Spica*, *Egyptian Mahaleb*, which is a Berry of strong Scent; Chaplets of Glass Beads, made in *Venice*, of all Colours; and a Black Colour, called by that People *Kool*, and used by them, to darken the Eyes and Eye-brows, upon which Account it is highly valued. All the Commodities above-mentioned, sell likewise in *Abyssinia*, but with this Difference, that the largest Glass Beads are esteemed in *Sennar*, and the smallest in *Ethiopia*.

The

The Merchants of *Sennar* carry on a great Traffic Eastward. At the Season of the Monsoons they take Shipping at *Saquem* * standing on the *Red Sea*. The Pearl-fishing carried on there, and the Town of *Saquem*, belong to the Grand Signior. From thence they cross to *Mocha* †, a City of *Arabia Felix*, and subject to the King of *Yemen*; and afterwards go to *Surat*, whither they carry Gold, Civet, Elephants Teeth; and bring from thence Spices, and other Commodities of *India*. The Merchants commonly employ two Years in this Voyage.

When the King of *Sennar* dies, the great Council meet; and then, pursuant to a most horrid Custom, murder all the Brothers of the Prince who is to ascend the Throne. Prince *Gorech* was concealed till the Death of the King his Brother; his Nurse having carried him away unknown to this bloody Council. A Brother of the reigning Monarch was likewise preserved. This Prince is now at the *Ethiopian* Court, where he is greatly distinguished on Account of his Merit and Birth.

After spending Three Months in the Court of the King of *Sennar*, who paid us the greatest Honours, we took leave of him. He was so gracious as to order us a Safe-guard, called by the Natives *Soccori*, who were to defray all our Expences, and conduct us to the Frontiers of his Kingdom. We then got into

* 'Tis subject to the *Turks*, and governed by a Beglerbeg. 'Tis a good Harbour, and very much frequented; and stands about fourscore Leagues to the North of *Erquico* or *Arquica*. Some take this City for that of the *Troglodytes*, called antiently *Ptolemais Ferarum*, and *Epitheras*.

† *Mocha*, is the Capital of a Kingdom. About 200 Years since it was only an inconsiderable Village, but is now a very populous Town, where a great Trade is carried on. The Streets are wide; the Houses either of Brick or Stone, and the Shops make a handsome Appearance. The *Europeans* trade chiefly for Coffee here.

the large Body of a Tree, scooped in the Form of a Bark or Boat; and crossing the *Nile* the 12th of *May* 1699, we went and encamped at *Basboch*, a large Village, half a League from the City of *Sennar*. We waited there three Days till our whole Caravan was assembled, and set out in the Evening of the 15th of *May*. We travelled all Night to *Bacras*, a Town, the Lord of which was a venerable old Man, one hundred and thirty Years of Age, who yet seemed to be so very strong and vigorous, that we did not think him to be above forty *. He had served under five Kings of *Sennar*. We paid him a Visit, on which Occasion he received us very graciously, and enquired about the Affairs of *Europe*. We made him a little Present, in return for which he sent some Provisions to our Tent. We proceeded forward and arrived next Day, at *Abec*, a mean Hamlet, where nothing is seen but some poor Shepherds Cottages; and, on the Morrow, we came to *Baba*, after travelling ten Hours without stopping any where. *Baba* is a small Village, on an Arm of the *Nile* which was then dry. The 19th we set forward and lay at *Dodar*, as insignificant a Place as *Baba*; and on the Morrow, after travelling four Hours, came to *Abra*, a Town, where we lost two of our Camels, which we recover'd with great Difficulty. We got to *Debarka*, a Village; from thence to another called *Bulbul*; and after travelling through a very beautiful, populous Country, arrived the 25th of *May*, at *Geasim* †, a Town standing on the Banks of the *Nile*, and in the middle of a Forest, the Trees of which differ greatly

* I fancy Dr. *Poncet's* Eyes must have deceived him on this Occasion; it scarce being possible, I believe, for any Man so much more than an Hundred Years of Age, not to appear above Forty.

† I find none of the Towns, mentioned from *Sennar*, in our Maps. I believe this Part of the World is very little known to the *Europeans*.

from those we had seen hitherto. They are taller than our loftiest Oaks; and some are so thick, that nine Men together cannot embrace them. Their Leaf is like that of a Melon; and their Fruit, which is vastly bitter, resembles the Gourd; and some of them are round. At *Geasim* I also saw some of those large Trees which are naturally hollow. We entered, through a little Door, into a kind of Room open at Top; and so large that fifty Persons might easily stand upright in it.

I saw another Tree called *Geling* *, which is not larger than our Oaks, but as lofty as the above-mentioned Tree. Its Fruit is shaped like our Water-Melon, but a little smaller. 'Tis divided, within, into little Cells, filled with Yellow Berries or Grains, and such a Substance as very much resembles powdered Sugar. This Substance is a little sowerish, but pleasant, of a good Flavour, and extremely refreshing; and consequently very delightful in this excessively hot Country. The Rind is hard and thick. The Flower of [this Tree has five Leaves as White as the Lilly; and the Berry resembles that of the Poppy.

There is likewise, in this Country, another kind of Tree called *Deleb* †. 'Tis double the height of

* The Original is *Gelingue*. I don't find this Word in any of my Dictionaries.

† I have not met with this Tree in any of my Lexicons. In the *Religious Ceremonies of all Nations*, Vol. III. pag. 269. London 1731, Folio; mention is made of a Tree growing in the Island of *Mqeli*, called the *Cassia*-Tree. "The manner (says the Author) " how the Sticks are made, in which that " kind of purgative Gum is put, is pretty well known in *Europe*. They are long and dry when ripe; and whenever the " Wind blows, the Sticks with which those Trees are loaded " wave up and down, and thus striking against one another, " form a very strange Noise to such Persons as don't know " what it is owing to; especially if they happen to be in a Forest, when they sometimes hear this clashing Sound at a great " Distance from them."

the Palm-Tree, and in much the same Form. Its Leaves are like that of a Fan, but larger; its Fruit is round, and in Clusters; and, and from the Stalk to the middle Part of it, a little larger than those above-mentioned. This Fruit is covered with five very hard Shells, which form a kind of Cup. 'Tis Yellow when ripe; and its Rind is so very thick and hard, that when these Trees are shaken by the Winds; the Fruits striking one against the other, make a dreadful Noise. Should any one of them break away on these Occasions, and fall upon a Man's Head, it would certainly kill him. The Shell of this Fruit being broke, (which is not done without Difficulty) we perceive a great Number of Filaments, containing a Substance very like Honey. This Substance, which smells like Balm, is so sweet and grateful, that I don't remember ever to have tasted any Thing more delicious. In the middle of this Substance is a large, hard, brown Lentil; and this is the Seed of the Tree in question. Besides the Fruit above-mentioned, this Tree bears also another shaped like a Raddish, and covered with three Rinds which must be taken off, and has the Taste of boiled Chestnuts.

The *Domi* is as the Male of the *Daleb*. 'Tis not half the height of the Palm-Tree; but its Leaves are almost as long, and twice the breadth. Of these they make Baskets, Matts, and even Sails for such Vessels as go on the *Red-Sea*. This Tree produces Fruit a Foot long, covered with five or six Leaves, the Substance of which is white, sweet as Milk, and very nourishing.

The Tree called *Coogles* *, is likewise of a stupendous Size. These are nine or ten thick Trees twisted together, very irregularly. It bears a little Leaf, but no Fruit, and only small blue Flowers

* *Coogles* in French.

that have no Smell. There are several other Trees, wholly unknown to *Europeans*, in these wide-extended Forests.

We staid nineteen Days in *Geasim* *. This Town is half way between the City of *Sennar* and the Confines of *Ethiopia*; and in the Tenth Degree of North Latitude, according to the Observation made by Father *Brevedent* †. Travellers who arrive at *Geasim* are obliged to sell their Camels on Account of the Mountains they must cross, and which produce Herbs that poison these Beasts. For this Reason the *Ethiopians* employ only Mules and Horses, which are not shod. The Camels are sold at *Geasim*, upon this Condition, that the Venders shall make Use of them as far as *Girana*, where they are fetch'd by the Purchasers. At *Geasim* we saw a Caravan of *Gibertis* or *Mohammedans*, dependent on the Emperour of *Ethiopia*, who treats them like slaves, agreeably to their Name. The Reason of our long Stay at *Geasim* was on Account of the Death of the Queen, Mother to the King of *Sennar*. The Officer who conducted us returned to *Sennar* for fresh Orders from his Sovereign, and we were obliged to wait for him. This proved a sad Disappointment to us, the Rains falling in this Place. At first they did not fall till after Sun-set. These Showers are always preceeded by Thunder and Lightning. The Sky, in the Day-time, is vastly serene, but the Heat is intolerable.

We left *Geasim* the 11th of *June*; and after travelling five Hours, came to a Village call'd *Deleb*, on Account of the vast Vistos of the Trees so named, which extend out of Sight. We travelled a long

* *Giesim*, in the Original.

† This Town (*Geasim*) must be very far in *Abyssinia*, according to our Maps, and a considerable Way higher than the Sources of the *Nile*. Either our Geographers, or our Traveller must be mistaken.

Way in these delightful Allies, they being planted chequer-wise. The next Day we arrived at *Sho* *, a Village situated on the *Nile*; and the Day following at *Abotkna*, where we saw a Kind of Box, which is neither so leafy nor so strong as ours. All this Way we came thro' vast Groves of Tamarind-trees, which have a perpetual Verdure, and the Leaf is larger than that of the Cypress-tree. The Tree in question produces small blue, odoriferous Flowers, and a Fruit very like the Plumb. 'Tis called *Erdeb* in this Country. These Forests of Tamarind-trees are so very tufted that the Sun cannot pierce through them. We spent the following Night in the Valley of *Sonnone*, in the Middle of a beautiful Meadow; and in two Days reached *Serka* †, a neat City, consisting of five or six hundred Houses, which are very pretty, tho' built only of *Indian* Canes or Reeds. *Serka* stands in a fine Valley, surrounded with Mountains. At our going out of this City we come to a small River, which separates *Ethiopia* from the Kingdom of *Sennar*.

From *Serka*, which we left on the 20th of *June*, to *Gondar* ‖, the Capital of *Ethiopia*, we met with a great Number of fine Springs; and an almost continual Range of Mountains, in different Forms, but all very agreeable, and covered with Trees unknown in *Europe*, which seemed to us loftier and more beau-

* *Chau*, in the Original.

† *Serké*, in *French*. All these Parts seem *Terra incognita* to the *Europeans*.

‖ Other Writers, and particularly *Ludolf*, (I think) call the Capital of *Abyssinia*, *Ambara*, being also the Name of a Province. Either they or our Traveller must be mistaken, unless some Change should have happened in *Ethiopia*, since the Time of *Ludolf*, &c. I suppose, however, that this City *Gondar*, is that call'd *Gontar*, placed in about 13 Degrees of North Latitude by *Moll*. If it be true that the *Abyssinian* Monarch generally keeps his Court in a Camp, and the People live more under Tents than in Houses, I don't know any Place in *Ethiopia*, which we could properly call a Capital.

tiful than those of *Sennar*. These Mountains, some of which are pyramidal, and others in the Form of a Cone, are so well cultivated, that not the least Spot is suffered to lie useless; and at the same time, are so populous, that a Traveller would imagine them to be one continued City. The next Day we lay at *Tambisso*, a large Village belonging to the Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, and on the Morrow we reached *Abead*, situated on a high Mountain, covered with Sycamore-trees. The Country, quite from *Geasim* to this Place, is covered with Cotton. The 23d of June we stopt in a Valley full of Ebony-trees, and Indian Canes, where a Lion carried off one of our Camels. Lions are common in this Country, and their Roaring is heard all Night; Travellers secure themselves from them by lighting up and keeping in great Fires. On these Mountains are found *Squinautes* *, and a great many other aromatic Plants and Herbs.

The 24th we cross'd the River of *Gandova* †, which is very deep and very rapid, whence the crossing of it is rendered vastly dangerous. 'Tis not quite so wide as the *Seine* at *Paris*. It rushes from the Mountains with so much Impetuosity that, in overflowing, it drags along all Things in its Way. On these Occasions, it sometimes swells to such a Degree, that 'tis ten Days before Travellers can get over. As the River happened to be very low at that time, we cross'd it with Ease. This River falls into another call'd *Tekefel* ‖, or the *dreadful*; and these two Rivers uniting together empty themselves in the *Nile*. We cross'd two other large Rivers on the Morrow. Their Banks were lin'd with Box-

* I have not been able to make any Discovery with regard to this Plant.

† I don't find this River in our Maps.

‖ I suppose this is the River call'd *Tacaze* in *Moll*, which takes a long Course, and empties itself in the *Nile*.

trees, of a surprizing Thickness, and as tall as our Beach-trees. That Day one of our Beasts of Burthen straying from the Caravan, was bit in the Thigh by a Bear. The Wound was large and dangerous; but the People of the Country applying only a Caustic and Fire to it, the Beast was perfectly cured.

The 26th we entered a wide Plain, covered with Pomegranate-trees; and spent the Night there in Sight of *Girana*, whither we arrived next Day. *Girana* is a Village on the Top of a Mountain, whence we have a Prospect of the finest Country in the World *. Here we travel in another manner, we quitting our Camels in order to ride on Horseback, as was before observed. The Lord of *Girana* came and paid us a Visit, and ordered Refreshments to be brought us. Here we found a Guard of Thirty Men sent by the Emperor of *Ethiopia* for our Security, and in honour to the Patriarch's Brother who was in our Caravan; and we were freed from all Care of the Baggage, pursuant to the Custom of that Empire. The manner of doing this is as follows.

When the Emperor of *Ethiopia* invites any Person to his Court, his Baggage is intrusted with the Lord of the first Village, which happens to lie in the Way. This Lord puts it into the Hands of his Vassals, who are obliged to carry it to the neighbouring Village. These give it to the Inhabitants of the second Village, who carry it to the next they meet with; and so on till it gets to the Capital; all which is performed with surprizing Exactness and Fidelity.

* The most esteemed Travellers, who have been in *Abyssinia*, declare it to be either surrounded by Mountains, or by Defarts that are next to unpassable. But that the Country within these is vastly beautiful and level, watered by several fine Rivers, and diversified with Woods and Plains, stocked with Palm-trees, Dates and Cedars.

The

The Rains, the Fatigue of the Journey, and especially Father *Brevedent's* Indisposition, obliged us to stay some Days in *Girana*. We left it the first of *July*; and after travelling three Hours, over Mountains, and through almost unpassable Ways, we arrived at *Barangea*; and the next Day at *Shelga* *, a large, and beautiful City surrounded with Aloes. This is a Place of great Trade; a Market is kept there every Day, whither the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Towns come to sell Civet, Gold, and all sorts of Cattle and Provisions. The King of *Sennar* keeps, in this City, with the consent of the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, a Custom-house Officer, who receives the Duty paid on all the Cotton brought out of his Kingdom into *Ethiopia*; and these Duties are equally divided between the two Princes. Two Leagues from *Shelga*, Northward, is seen a Torrent which falls from a very high and very steep Mountain, and forms such a natural Cascade as Art could scarcely imitate. As the Water of this Cascade is divided into various Canals or Streams, it passes through the whole Country, and renders it vastly fruitful.

The third of *July* we arrived at *Barko*, a small but very pretty City, standing in the midst of a most agreeable Plain, and half a Day's Journey from the Capital of *Ethiopia*. We were forced to stop in this Place, I myself falling grievously sick; and my dear Companion Father *Brevedent*, being in a few Days brought near his End, occasioned by his taking a violent Purge of *Ricinus Americanus* † called *Cataputia*, which had been prescribed

* *Chelga*, in *French*. I don't find either this or *Barangoa*, in our Maps.

† In *French*, *Pignons d'Inde*. I am not sure whether this is the *Ricinus Americanus*, which is the Fruit of a Tree, very common in the Island *Antilles* in *America*. It grows to the height of a Figtree, and is shaped like it. This Fruit purges violently downwards, and sometimes upwards.

for him, very improperly, at *Tripoli* in *Syria*. This Medicine which is ever dangerous in the Opinion of a very learned Man *, had thrown him into a very troublesome Purging, which he had always concealed from me, out of Modesty. I no sooner heard of his Illness, but I got myself carried to his Chamber, notwithstanding my being vastly out of Order. My Tears rather than my Expressions informed him that I thought it was impossible for me to do him any Service, and that his Disease was mortal. These Tears were sincere; and could I have saved him, though I had lost my own Life, I should have sacrificed it with Pleasure. But he was ripe for Heaven, and the Almighty thought proper to recompence his Apostolical Labours. I had known him at *Grand Cairo*, where his Reputation was so great, that it was believed God had indulged him with more than ordinary Graces; and even endowed him with the Gift of Miracles and Prophecy †.

This is the Idea I had formed to myself of him from common Fame, the Truth of which I myself afterwards knew perfectly, by various Predictions, with regard to his own Death; and by several other Things which happened to me exactly as he had foretold them. During his whole Journey, the Almighty was the only Topic of his Discourse; and his Words were forcible, and in such a strain of Piety, that they made the deepest Impression on my Mind. In his latter Moments, his Heart seemed almost insensible to any Emotions, except those of Love and Gratitude towards his Creator; and these Emotions were so rapturous that I shall never forget them. In such Sentiments this holy Man

* Philos. Cosmopol.

† Dr. *Poncet* seems here, and on one Occasion or two more, to be of a superstitious Turn of Mind; though in other Respects an agreeable Writer.

breathed his last, in a Foreign Land, within sight of the Capital of *Ethiopia*; in like manner as St. *Francis Xavier*, whose Name-sake he was, formerly died before *China*, just as he was entering it, in the Design of winning over that Empire to Christ.

To do Justice to Father *Brevedent's* Character, I must declare that I never knew a Man who discovered greater Intrepidity in Danger; more Firmness and Resolution in supporting the Cause of Religion; or more Modesty and Piety in his general Behaviour and Conduct. He died the 9th of *July* 1699, at Three in the Afternoon. Several *Ethiopian* Friars, who happened to see him expire, were so touched, so edified by it, that I don't doubt but they'll preserve, as long as they live, a great Veneration for the Memory of this holy Missionary. These Friars came on the Morrow in a Body, dressed in their sacerdotal Vestments, with each an Iron Cross in his Hand. After offering up the Prayers for the dead, and making the usual perfumings with Incense, they themselves carried the Body into a Church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and buried it there.

My Illness, and the Grief with which I was seized, detained me in *Barko* till the 21st of *July*, when I set out for *Gondar* †, at which City I arrived in the Evening. I alighted at the Palace, where an Apartment was prepared for me near that of one of the Emperor's Children. The very next Day I had the Honour to see this Monarch, who, at the same time that he discovered the greatest Goodness for me, expressed his Sorrow for the Death of my Companion, whose Merit and Capacity had been hinted to him. He bid me take all the rest necessary for the Recovery of my Health, before I attempted to appear in Public. He used to come,

† This Capital City is called *Gondar a Catma*, that is, City of the Seal.

through a little Gallery which led to my Apartment, and visit me almost every Day: and when I had a little more Strength, which the Toils and Fatigues of my Journey had greatly impaired, I had the Honour to be admitted to a Public Audience, on the 10th of *August*, about ten in the Morning. Some Persons came then to my Room; and after making me cross upwards of Twenty Apartments *, I found myself in a Hall where the Emperor was seated on his Throne. 'Twas a kind of Sofa, covered with a Carpet of red Damask enriched with Gold Flowers. Around were placed large Cushions worked with Gold. This Throne, the Feet of which are of solid Gold, was placed at the upper End of the Hall, in an Alcove covered with a Dome all shining with Gold and Blue. The Emperor was in a silken Vest embroidered with Gold, with very long Sleeves: and the Sash which went round him was embroidered in the same Taste. He was bare-headed, and his Hair was disposed very agreeably in Tresses. A large Emerald † glittered above his Forehead, and diffused an Air of Majesty. He was alone in his Alcove, seated on his Couch, and cross-legged after the manner of the Easterns. The chief Noblemen stood in a Line on each side of him,

* This must be a large Pile of Building, contrary to what we are told by some Writers, who affirm that there are none of any considerable Extent in *Abyssinia*. These Travellers relates, that the Monarch in question, generally keeps, as was before observed, his Court in a Camp, which is disposed in the Form of Streets: As he is ever attended by his Nobles, Officers, Tradesman, &c. this Camp never fails of being well supplied with Provisions, &c. But most Writers affirm that the Buildings in *Abyssinia* are very mean, being so many Huts made only of Clay and little Pieces of Wood: That the *Abyssinians*, when the *Europeans* first came among them, about two Centuries ago, had neither Palaces, Churches, nor walled Towns: However, that the Missionaries afterwards taught them to build these; but that very few of them are standing at this Time.

† 'Tis related, that the largest Emeralds in the World come from this Country.

their

their Hands crossed ; and they observed a respectful Silence.

Being come to the Foot of the Throne, I made three very low Bows to the Emperor, and kissed his Hand. This is an Honour he indulges only to such Persons as he is pleased to distinguish ; for as to others, he does not give them his Hands to kiss till after they have prostrated themselves three Times, and kissed his Feet. I then presented him with the Letter written by Mr. Maillet, the French Consul, which being interpreted that Instant, seemed to give him Satisfaction. He asked me several Questions concerning the Person of his Majesty, whom he spoke of as the greatest and most powerful Prince in Europe * ; concerning the State of the Royal Family, and the Grandeur and Forces of France. After having answered these several Questions, I gave him my Presents, consisting in Pictures, Looking-Glasses, Vases of Chrystal, and other Works in Glass all curiously wrought. The Emperor received them very graciously ; and as I was still weak, he commanded me to sit down, when a magnificent Collation was served up.

The next Day the Monarch himself, and one of his Children, began to enter upon a Course of Physic ; and both followed my Prescriptions very exactly ; and these were so happy in their Effects, that they were perfectly cured in a short Time. This Success won me new Favour, so that the Emperor treated me with greater Familiarity than before. He seemed to be of a very devout Frame of Mind. Though he was still under a Course of Physic, he yet resolved to receive the Sacrament ; and to appear in Public on the Day of the Assumption of the Virgin, to which the *Ethiopians* pay a parti-

* The French seldom or never fail to exalt their own Monarch, on all Occasions, and in all Places.

cular Regard. The Monarch invited me to that Ceremony, and accordingly I went to it about eight o'Clock. I saw about Twelve Thousand Men drawn up in Battle Array, in the great Court of the Palace *. The Emperor's Head was then covered with a Piece of Muslin streaked with Gold Threads, which formed a kind of Crown after the manner of the Antients, having the middle Part of his Head bare; and he wore a Vest of Blue Velvet, adorned with Gold Flowers, which reached to the Ground. His Shoes were after the *Indian* Fashion, wrought with Pearls in Flowers. Two Princes of the Blood, in splendid Dresses, waited for him at the Gate of the Palace, holding a magnificent Canopy, under which the Emperor walked, preceded by his Trumpets, Kettle-Drums, Fifes, Harps, Hautboys, and other Instruments, which formed an agreeable Symphony. He was followed by the seven chief Ministers of the Empire, who held each other by the Arm; their Heads being covered much after the same manner with that of the Emperor, with every one a Lance in his Hand. The Minister who walked in the middle was bare-headed, and carried the Imperial Crown, which leaned against his Stomach, and seemed to give him Pain. This Crown, which is close, and adorned at the Top with a Cross of Jewels, is vastly magnificent. I marched in the same Rank with the Ministers, in a *Turkish* Dress; and led by an Officer whose Arm was under mine. The Crown Officers all holding by one another in the same manner, followed, singing alternately in Praise of the Emperor. The Musketeers dressed in close-bodied Vests of different Colours, came af-

* We are told that the *Abyssinian* Monarch is crowned in one of the chief Churches, with a Sort of Coronet, enriched with glittering Stones, and which their Metropolitan Places on his Head, before his Nobles and Clergy: And that Anthems are sung, and Guns fired on those Occasions.

terwards; and were followed by Archers, armed with Bows and Arrows. The March was closed by the Emperor's led Horses, in splendid Trappings; and covered with very rich Gold Stuffs which reached to the Ground, and over these were very beautiful Tyger-Skins.

The Patriarch, cloathed in his Pontifical Vestments wrought with Gold Crosses stood at the Chapel-Door, accompanied by near an hundred Friars dressed in White. They were drawn up in two Lines, each holding an Iron Cross; some being within, and others without the Chapel. The Patriarch, at his Entrance into the Chapel called *Tensa Christos*, or the Church of the Resurrection, took the Emperor by the Right-hand; and led him near to the Altar, through two Lines of Friars each of whom held a lighted Torch. The Canopy was carried over the Emperor till such Time as he came to his Desk, which was covered with a rich Carpet, and very like the Desks of the *Italian* Prelates. The Emperor stood almost the whole Time till the receiving of the Sacrament, which the Patriarch administered to him under both kinds. The Ceremonies of the Mass * are beautiful and majestic; but I have not so distinct an Idea of them, as to be able to describe them in this Place.

The Ceremony being ended, two Cannon were fired, in the same manner as at the Entrance, and then the Emperor left the Chapel, and returned to

* By this Expression, one would imagine that Doctor *Poncet* would have it supposed, that the *Ethiopians* solemnize Mass as the *Roman-Catholics*. But according to the best Authors, the Religion of the *Ethiopians* seems to be a Mixture of *Christianity* and *Judaism*; the former of the two coming nearer to the *Greek Church* than that of the *Latins*: For 'tis said, that they keep both the *Jewish* and *Christian Sabbath*; that they use Circumcision and Baptism. 'Tis generally agreed, that they administer the Sacrament in both kinds; and believe in the real Presence, but not in Transubstantiation.

the Palace in the same Order he came to it. The Minister who carried the Crown gave it to the chief Treasurer, who carried it to the Treasury, attended by a Company of Fusiliers. The Emperor being entered the great Hall of the Palace, seated himself on a very high Throne; having the two Princes his Sons, on each side, and after them the Ministers. With regard to myself, I was placed opposite to the Monarch. All stood silent, and with their Arms a-cross. The Emperor having taken some Mead, and Orange Peel, which was presented to him in a golden Cup; such as had any Favour to sue for came in; when advancing to the Foot of the Throne, one of the Ministers took their Petitions, and read them aloud. The Emperor himself also read them sometimes, and immediately answered them.

The Monarch dined that Day in Public, and in the most august manner practised on certain Occasions. He sat on a sort of Bed, and had a large Table before him. There were several other lower Ones for the Lords of his Court. The Viands eat on these Occasions are Beef, Mutton and Fowls. They are generally tossed up Ragoo Fashion; but are seasoned so strongly with Pepper, and other Spices unknown to us, that an *European* cannot relish them. They are served in *China* Dishes, and singly. I saw no wild Fowl, and was assured that the *Ethiopians* never eat any. I was surprized to observe raw Beef set upon the Emperor's Table. 'Tis seasoned after a very particular manner. A piece of Beef being cut into Pieces, these are sprinkled with the Gall of the Ox, which is an excellent Dissolvent, and they then are powdered with Pepper and Spices. This Ragoo, which according to them, is the most exquisite Dish that can be tasted, was loathsome to my Palate. The Emperor did not touch it, upon my assuring him that nothing would be more injurious to his Health. There also is another

ther Way of seasoning raw Meats. These People take, from the Paunches of Oxen, Herbs which the Beast had not yet digested. These they mix with the Meat; and adding Mustard, make a Ragoo of the Whole, which they call *Menta*. This Ragoo is still more unpalatable than the former.

As the Table at which I was seated, stood near that of the Emperor, he spoke to me often. His Discourse generally turn'd on the Person of our King, and the Wonders of his Reign. He told me he was charm'd with the Character which one of his Embassadors, at his Return from *India*, gave of him; and that he consider'd our Prince as the Hero of *Europe*. All the Dishes are tasted here as in *France*; an Officer tasting of them severally as they are serv'd up to the Emperor. That Monarch first drank a little Brandy, presented to him in a Chrystal Vessel; and Mead, during the whole Entertainment. If he happens to commit any Excess, it is hinted to him, on which Occasion he rises from Table that Instant *.

The Reader will probably wonder to hear, that in a Country where there are such excellent Grapes, Mead only should be drunk. This surpriz'd me at first; but I was told, that † Wine made with Grapes would not keep, on Account of the violent Heat; and as it corrupts so soon, the Emperor does not love it any more than the common People; whereas Mead, which is universally liked, is made in Manner following ‡. They take Barley, make it sprout, and roast it in much the same Man-

* What *European* Monarch would permit this?

† 'Tis nevertheless said, by some Travellers, that no Present is more agreeable from an *European* to the *Abyssinian* Monarch, than some Bottles of our Wine.

‡ One great Reason, very possibly, why Mead or Metheglin is drunk so much in this Country, is, because it abounds very much in Honey. 'Tis likewise said, that they have Liquors made of Wheat and Rice.

ner as we do Coffee, and then pound it. The same is done to a Root call'd Taddo, which grows in the Country. They then take a Vessel varnish'd over, when pouring in some Water, and a fourth Part Honey, they mix them; and to ten Pounds of this Water put two Ounces of Barley, and two Ounces of Taddo. The whole is mix'd together, and being left to ferment three Hours in a warm place, they stir it from time to time; and three Days after this they have excellent Mead, pure, clarified, and of the Colour of *Spanish* white Wine. This is a delightful Liquor, but requires a more vigorous Stomach than mine. 'Tis strong; and the *Abyssinians* draw a Brandy from it which is as good as ours.

After the Entertainment, the Empress came and paid a Visit to the Emperor. She was cover'd with Jewels, and her whole Dress was magnificent. This Princess is of a white Complexion, and her Air and Gait declare her Dignity. The Moment she appear'd the whole Court withdrew out of Respect; but the Emperor bid me and the Friar, who serv'd as Interpreter, stay. The Empress consulted me about certain Inconveniencies she complain'd of; and afterwards ask'd whether the *French* Ladies are well shap'd; she likewise enquir'd about their Dress, and what were their most usual Employments*.

The Palace is large and spacious, and delightfully situated. It stands in the Center of the City, on an Eminence which surveys the whole Country. 'Tis about a League round†. The Walls are of Free-

* If our Traveller gave the Empress a genuine Account of the Manner in which the *French* Ladies pass their Time, it must have appear'd extremely odd to her.

† According to most Relations of *Abyssinia*, one wou'd not have imagin'd that there had been any Building of the vast Dimensions of this Palace; nor that there were any Cities in this Country as large as our Traveller afterwards declares *Gondar* to be. 'Tis usually said, that the Houses of the common People are

Free-stone, flank'd with Towers, on which are rais'd great Stone-Crosses. There are four Imperial Chapels within the Palace; and these are call'd *Bait Christian*, as are other Churches of the Empire, that is, *Houses of the Christians*. An hundred Friars officiate in them; and these Friars have likewise the Direction of a College, where the Officers of the Palace are taught to read the Scriptures.

The Princess *Helcia*, Sister to the Emperor, has a magnificent Palace in the City of *Gondar*. As the Princesses in *Ethiopia* are not allow'd to marry Foreigners, one of the chief Lords of the Empire is her Husband. She goes thrice a Week to the Palace to visit the Emperor her Brother, who has the greatest Esteem and Friendship for her. Whenever that Lady appears in public, she is mounted on a Mule richly caparison'd; with two of her Women (one on each Side) carrying a Canopy. She is surrounded by four or five hundred Women singing Verses in her praise; and sounding Tabors in a very sprightly Tone. Some of the Houses in *Gondar* are built after the *European* Manner; but most of them are in the Form of a Cone *.

Altho' the City of *Gondar* is three or four Leagues in Circumference, it yet has not the beautiful Air of our Cities, nor can ever have it, because the Houses are but of one Story, and there are no Shops; notwithstanding which a great Trade is carried on here †. All the Merchants or Tradesmen meet in a vastly

are only little Huts of green Boughs and Clay. When Relations of the same Thing or Place are directly opposite, a thinking Man is naturally apt to be a Sceptic on those Occasions.

* The *French* is, *à un entonnoir renversé*, i. e. to a Funnel standing on the broad End.

† The chief Trade of the *Abyssinians* is, they barter Gold, Emeralds, and fine Horses, for Silks, Stuffs, Calicoes, Linen and Carpets. Very few *Abyssinians* travel into other Countries, so that their Trade is manag'd by *Arabians*, *Jews*, or *Armenians*. The *Turks* will not let them traffick with any other Nation

a vastly large open Place, to transact their Business, and there the several Commodities are expos'd to Sale. The Market lasts from Morning till Night, and Commodities of every Kind are sold in it. Every Trader has a Place fit for his Purpose, where the Goods he sells are spread on a Mat. The Monies current in this Country are * Gold and Salt. Gold is not coin'd with the Prince's Image, as in *Europe*, but continues in Ingots, which the Traders cut, as they have Occasion, from an Ounce to half a Dram, worth thirty Pence of our Money; and to prevent it's being debas'd, there are Goldsmiths every where, who make an Essay of it. Rock-salt (exceedingly white and hard) is us'd as the small Money. 'Tis taken out of the Mountain *Lafta*, whence 'tis carry'd into the Emperor's Warehouses, and there cut into large flat Pieces † call'd Amooli, and into half Pieces call'd Coorman. Every Amooli is a Foot long, and three Inches thick. Ten of these Amooli are worth three *French* Crowns. They are broke according as the Payment is greater or less; and this Salt is employ'd not only as Money, but likewise for domestic Uses.

There are about an hundred Churches in the City of *Gondar*. The Patriarch, who is the Head in religious Matters ‡, and resides in a noble Palace near the patriarchal Church, is subordinate to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, who consecrates him. He nominates the several Superiors of the Monasteries,

Nation but themselves; and on this Account, maintain a strict Guard upon the *Red Sea*, to keep out every other People.

* 'Tis said there are vast Quantities of Gold in this Empire, tho' there are no Gold Mines wrought.

† *The Original says*, On le forme en Tablettes, which signifies literally, in the Shape of Lozenges.

‡ According to the most approved Travellers, the Emperor is Head in Spirituals as well as in Temporal.

who

and has an absolute Power over all the Monks *, who are very numerous ; there being no other Priests in *Ethiopia* except these, as there are no other Bishops but the Patriarch. The Emperor pays the latter the highest Regard. He order'd me to visit him, and gave me some Curiosities to present him with. This Prelate, whose Name is *Abona Marcos*, receiv'd me very civilly ; when putting a Stole about my Neck, and holding an enamel'd Cross in his Hand, he repeated certain Prayers over my Head, as a Declaration that he would consider me, from this Time, as one of his Flock and of his Sons. The Priests have a great Ascendant over the People, but they sometimes make an ill Use of it. The Emperor *Atee Basilee*, Grandfather to the Monarch who now sways the Sceptre so gloriously, caus'd seven Thousand of them to be thrown headlong from the Mountain of *Balbo*, for rebelling against him. The Reader may form a Judgment of the vast Multitude there are in this Empire, from what I was one Day told by the Predecessor of the present Patriarch, *viz.* that he had made, in one Ordination, ten Thousand Priests and six Thousand Deacons. The whole Ceremony of Ordination consists in this : The Patriarch, being seated, reads the Beginning of *St. John's* Gospel over the Heads of such as are to be ordained Priests ; and gives them his Blessing with an Iron Cross † weighing seven or eight Pounds,

* These Monks do not dwell in Cloisters, but live in separate Hutts, a great Number of which are rais'd near some Church, where every Monk officiates in his Turn ; and each of these Villages, if I may so term them, of Hutts, is subject to an Abbot. These Monks till the Ground, and support themselves by their Labour ; which cannot be said of many of those among the Roman Catholics. The *Abyssinian* Monks are not allow'd to marry, which possibly must be understood only of such as are in Presbyter's or Priest's Orders ; it being said that Sub-presbyters, Deacons, and Sub-deacons may marry once.

† The Clergy always have a Cross in their Hands, which all who meet them kiss. They have no Images in their Churches, but many Pictures.

which

which he holds in his Hand. As to the Deacons, he only gives them his Blessing without reading the Gospel.

The Predecessor of the present Patriarch, who had been the Emperor's Tutor or Governor, died, during my Abode, in the City of *Gondar*. Tho' he had been remov'd on Account of his irregular Life, nevertheless the Monarch, out of Gratitude for the excellent Education he had receiv'd from his Preceptor, had always shewn him a particular Affection. He fell sick at *Tanket*, a Country-seat of his. The Emperor commanded me to visit him, and desir'd me to preserve the Life of a Man who was dear to him. I accordingly staid two Days with him, to enquire into his Distemper; when finding it would be impossible for him to recover, I did not administer a single Dose of Physick, lest I should lose my Reputation among an ignorant People, who possibly would have reported that I had killed him; he dying two Days after.

At my Return, I met with the most extraordinary Accident that ever befel me. I was coming from *Gondar*, attended by my Servants, mounted on a Mule; that Beast being generally us'd in this Country for travelling. The Mule took Fright on a sudden, and run away with the utmost Fury, tho' I did all that lay in my Power to stop him. I cross'd with dreadful Swiftneſs three vastly deep Precipices, without receiving the least Hurt. I seem'd, by a particular Protection of Heaven, as fastned to the Beast, who rather flew than ran. *Moorat*, whom the Emperor has sent Ambassador to *France*, and is now in *Grand Cairo*, where he waits for his Orders, as well as all my Servants, were Eye-witnesses to this surprizing Accident, which Father *Brevedent* foretold me a little before he died *.

* I am sorry to find these Weaknesses in our Traveller.

The Emperor seem'd inconsolable on Account of the old Patriarch's Death. He went into Mourning six Weeks; and, during the first Fortnight, bewail'd him twice a Day. A Purple Dress is us'd (by Princes) for Mourning in *Ethiopia*, as in *France*.

The *Ethiopians* hate the *Mohammedans* and *Europeans* much alike, the Occasion of which is as follows. The *Mohammedans* rising to great Power in *Ethiopia*, in the Beginning of the sixteenth Century, seiz'd upon the Government: But the *Abyssinians* abhorring their severe and odious Yoke, call'd to their Assistance the *Portugueze*, who, at that Time, were famous in *India*, where they were just settled. These new Conquerors were extremely well pleas'd to have free Access to *Ethiopia*. Accordingly they march'd against the *Mohammedans*, fought, defeated them entirely, and restored the Imperial Family to the Throne. The important Service the *Portugueze* did on this Occasion, made them considerable in the Court of *Ethiopia*, for which Reason many of them settled there, and were honour'd with the chief Employments. Their Numbers increasing, their Manners became deprav'd; and they at last grew so insolent, that the *Ethiopians* were fir'd with Jealousy, imagin'd that they design'd to seize on their Country, and make it dependant on the Crown of *Portugal*. This Suspicion animated the common People, even to Fury, against the *Portugueze*; upon which they immediately took up Arms every where, and made a dreadful Havock of those Foreigners, at a Time when they fancied themselves most strongly settled in the Empire. Those who escap'd the Massacre obtain'd Leave to quit the Country. Accordingly seven thousand *Portugueze* Families left it, and settled either in *India*, or on the Coasts of *Africa*. However, some staid in the Country; and from these Families sprung the white *Ethiopians* who are still seen there; and from whom,

whom, we are told, the present Empress, mention'd above, is descended. *Mohammedans* are permitted to inhabit the City of *Gondar*, but only in the lower Part of it, and in a District by themselves. They are call'd *Gibertis*, that is, Slaves. The *Ethiopians* cannot bear to eat with them; they wou'd not even touch any Meat that had been kill'd by a *Mohammedan*, nor drink out of a Cup which had touch'd his Lips, unless a Friar had first bless'd it, by making the Sign of the Cross; repeating Prayers; and blowing thrice over the Cup, as tho' to drive the evil Spirit from it. Whenever an *Ethiopian* meets a *Mohammedan* in the Streets, he salutes him with his left Hand, which is a Mark of Contempt.

The Empire of *Ethiopia* is of a vast Extent, * and consists of several Kingdoms. That of *Tigra*, the Viceroy whereof, nam'd *Gorekos*, presides over twenty-four Principalities, which are so many little Governments. The Kingdom of *Ago* † is one of the Emperor's new Conquests, and was formerly a Commonwealth, having its own Laws and Government. The Emperor of *Ethiopia* has always two Armies on foot; one on the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Nerosea*, and the other on the of the Kingdom of *Goyam*, where the richest Gold Mines are found ‡. All the Oar brought from these Mines is carry'd to *Gondar*, where 'tis refin'd and cast into Ingots, which are deposited in the Imperial Treasury, whence they are never taken out, except to

* Travellers whose Veracity is most esteem'd relate, that the Empire of *Abyssinia* is not above a thousand Miles in Circumference. Writers differ very much in their Accounts of the Extent of this Empire, one Reason of which may be, that some Parts of it may have been subdued and dismembred.

† *Agau*.

‡ I had observed before, that most Travellers affirm that no Gold Mines are wrought here.

pay the Troops and defray the Expences of the Court *.

The great Power of the Emperor consists in this, that he is absolute Master of whatever his Subjects possess; he taking away, or bestowing at Pleasure. Whenever the Father of a Family dies, the Monarch seizes all his real Estate, two Thirds of which he leaves to his Children or his Heirs. He bestows the remaining Third to another Person, who hereby becomes his Feudatory, and is oblig'd to serve in the Wars at his own Expence, and to furnish Soldiers in Proportion to the Estate he bestows upon him. By that Means the *Abyssinian* Monarch, who has a numberless Multitude of these Feudatories, can raise powerful Armies in a short Time, and at a small Expence.

In every Province is a Comptroller's Office, where an exact Register is kept of all Possessions that revert to the Imperial Domain, by the Death of the Possessor, and which are afterwards bestow'd on Feudatories. The Manner in which Persons are invested with these Fiefs or Possessions are as follow. The Monarch sends to the Person whom he has appointed his Feudatory, a Slip or Piece of Taffety, on which the following Words are writ in Gold Letters, *Jesus, Emperor of Ethiopia, of the Tribe of Judah, ever victorious over his Enemies* †. The Officer who carries this Order from the Emperor,

* According to Dr. Poncet, the *Abyssinian* Monarch is very powerful; but others relate, that the *Turks* have quite clipp'd his Wings. This was owing to the civil War which the *Ethiopians* carry'd on against him, which the *Turks* taking Advantage of, seiz'd on all his Territories lying on the *Red Sea*, and by that Means prevented his having the least Intercourse with any Nation but themselves.

† 'Tis said that every Emperor, at his Accession, assumes a particular Name, or rather Motto, as *the Beloved of God, Son of the Pillar of Sion, of the Seed of Jacob, of the Posterity of David and Solomon*; they having a Tradition, that they are descended, by the Queen of *Sh'ba*, from *Solomon*.

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fixes the Piece of Silk, with Ceremony, on the Forehead of the new Feudatory; and afterwards goes, attended by Trumpets, KettleD-rums, and other Instruments, and some Horsemen, and puts him in Possession of the new Estate.

The Emperor's Ancestors us'd to appear in publick on stated Days, but the present Monarch has freed himself from that Servitude; he going Abroad whenever he thinks proper, either with or without Splendor. When he comes forth in Ceremony, he is mounted on a Horse richly caparison'd, surrounded by a great Body of Horse, and preceded and follow'd by a Guard of two thousand Men. As the Sun is so intensely hot in *Ethiopia*, that it fleas the Skin off the Face, unless the utmost Care be taken; to prevent this, the Emperor has a Piece of thick Paper, of the Pastboard Kind, which being bent in a semi-circular Form, and cover'd with a rich Gold Stuff, is fix'd under his Chin. This he does that he may not be troubled with an Umbrello, but be cool'd by the Air both before and behind. The most usual Diversion of this Monarch is to exercise his Troops, and shoot with a Musket, in which he is so expert, that he is thought to be the best Marksman in all his Empire.

The Rains continue six Months in *Ethiopia*, they beginning in *April*, and not ceasing till the End of *September*. During the first three Months, the Weather is serene and beautiful in the Day-time; but the Instant the Sun sets, it falls a raining, and continues to do so 'till Sun-rise, on which Occasions there are commonly Thunder and Lightning. The Cause of the Overflowing of the *Nile*, which happens regularly every Year in *Egypt*, has long been sought, and falsely ascrib'd to the melting of the Snows, I being of Opinion that no Snow was ever seen in that Country. We need search for no other Cause of this Inundation, than those Rains which

which fall with so much Violence, that they seem to form a Deluge *. The Rivers then swell in an extraordinary Manner, and, with their Impetuosity, carry along Gold much purer than that taken out of the Mines. The Peasants gather it up very carefully. There is scarce any Country more populous, or more fruitful, than *Ethiopia*. All the Plains, and even the Mountains, of which there are a great Number, are cultivated. We see entire Plains cover'd with Cardamum †, and Ginger, which diffuses a very agreeable Fragrancy; and the Plant which produces it is four times the Size of that of *India*. The Multitude of large Rivers which water *Ethiopia*, whose Banks are always embellish'd with Lillies, Junquils, Tulips, and a vast Variety of other Flowers which I never saw in *Europe*, make this Country a perfect Paradise. The Forests are fill'd with Orange and Lemon Trees, Jasmin, Pomegranate, and several other Trees fill'd with Flowers of exquisite Beauty, and these shed delicious Odours. We here find a Tree which produces a sort of Roses much more fragrant than ours.

I saw an Animal of an extraordinary Species in this Country. 'Tis not much larger than a Cat, but has the Face of a Man, and a white Beard ‡.

* The ablest Geographers and Travellers seem to be of this Opinion; they relating, that the Waters of the *Nile* are very muddy and thick, particularly when swell'd by the violent Rains which fall between the Tropicks in the Summer Season. These Waters falling into the low Lands, leave a prolific Mud, which renders the several Countries where they lie very fruitful. All Rivers between the Tropicks swell and fertilize the Lands in this Manner. We are not certain that the true Heads or Fountains of the *Nile* are yet discover'd, which, according to some, rise in Woods, impervious to the Sun-beams.

† A medicinal and very aromatic Spice, contain'd in Husks or Shells brought from *India* and *Arabia*. There are three Kinds of it. Cardamum is warm and dry; it is said to strengthen the Vitals, dispel Wind, and aid Digestion.

‡ I suppose 'tis of the Monkey Kind.

Its Voice is like that of a Person's bewailing himself. This Animal keeps always upon a Tree; and, as I was assur'd, is brought forth and dies upon it. 'Tis so very wild that there's no taming it. If a Man catches one of them, and endeavours to preserve it, tho' he takes ever so much Pains, the Creature wastes, and quite pines with Melancholy 'till it dies. One of them was taken down before me: The Creature, fixing itself to the Bough of a Tree, by entwining its Legs one within the other, died some Days after.

As soon as the rainy Season is over, the Emperor usually takes the Field. He makes War on the Kings of *Galla* and *Shangalla* *, who are his most powerful Enemies. These Princes, who were formerly Tributaries to the *Abyssinian* Empire, observing its Weakness, took that Opportunity to shake off the Yoke, and live independant. But the present Emperor commanded 'em to stand to their former Engagements, which they refusing, he proclaimed War against them. He defeated 'em in several Battles, which has intimidated those Nations to such a Degree, that the Moment the *Ethiopian* Army appears in the Field, the others retire upon inaccessible Mountains, and there sell their Lives very dear whenever they are attack'd. This War was, at first, very bloody, a great Number of brave Men being cut to Pieces daily, occasioned by the Soldiers poisoning their Arms with the Juice of a Fruit very much resembling our red Gooseberries; so that whenever any Person had the ill Fortune to be wounded, he was a dead Man. The *Ethiopians*, grieved at the numerous Losses they sustain'd, found, not long since, an infallible Antidote against this violent Poison, by making a Poullice of Sand, which they beat up with their Urine. This Poul-

* *Changalla*. I don't know whether this is the Country call'd *Shan Kala*, or that call'd *Sangara* in our Maps.

rice being applied to the Wound, draws forth the Venom so successfully, that the wounded Person is cur'd in a few Days *.

The Emperor, before he takes the Field, causes the Day of his March to be proclaimed; and orders his Tents to be pitched in a wide Plain within Sight of the City of *Gondar*. The Tents are all magnificent. That of the Emperor is of red Velvet embroidered with Gold. Three Days after, this Monarch orders his two large Silver Kettle-Drums to be carried through the whole City; mounts on Horseback, and goes to *Arrington*, the Rendezvous of the whole Army. The Emperor spends three Days in reviewing them, after which they enter upon Action, which does not last above three Months. His Armies are so numerous, that I was assur'd that which the Emperor commanded in 1699, consisted of four or five hundred thousand Men †.

The Palace of *Arrington* is as magnificent as that of *Gondar*, which is almost uninhabited when the Monarch is absent from it. However, four or five thousand Men are left about it, to guard the crown which is deposited there. This Garrison is commanded by one of the chief Ministers, who is not permitted to stir once out of the Palace. My ill Health prevented my following the Emperor to the Army. He returned from it some Days before *Christmas-day*, which he solemniz'd, in his capital

* Some think, that the several Particulars related concerning poison'd Arrows are all a Fiction; as likewise what we are told concerning Poisons which destroy Persons in a certain Term of Years.

† Either our Traveller was impos'd upon, or some other Writers who treat of *Ethiopia* are mistaken; unless, as I observ'd above, that the then Emperor should have aggrandiz'd his Power, far beyond that of many of his Predecessors. However, as the common People are his Slaves, and every Person of Distinction is oblig'd to bring up his youngest Son, in order for him to serve under the Emperor in the Field, this Monarch may possibly be able to raise a prodigious Army.

City, ten Days later than we ; neither the *Ethiopi-ans*, nor the *Christians* of the East, having reform'd their *Calendar*, *Epiphany* is, in *Ethiopia*, one of the most solemn Festivals, and is called *Gottas*, or the Day of washing ; the Natives bathing themselves that Day, in Commemoration of our Saviour's Baptism. The Emperor, attended by his whole Court, goes to *Kaa*, a Palace near *Gondar*, where is a magnificent Basin of Water, which is employed for that pious Ceremony. On solemn Festivals, of which there are a great Number in *Ethiopia*, the Emperor causes an Ox to be given to each of his Officers, and he sometimes bestows two thousand Oxen for that Purpose.

The *Europeans* have long been in an Error in respect to the Colour of the *Ethiopians*, which is owing to their confounding them with the *Blacks* of *Nubia*, their Neighbours. The natural Hue of the *Abyssinians* is a brown, Olive Colour *. Their Stature is tall and majestic ; the Features of their Faces are well express'd ; and they have fine large Eyes, a handsome Nose, thin Lips, and white Teeth ; whereas the People of *Sennar* and *Nubia* have flat Noses, thick Lips, and very black Faces †.

The Dress of Persons of Quality is a Vest of Silk, or fine Cotton, with a Kind of Scarf. Tradespeople are dress'd after the same Manner, but with this Difference, that they wear no Silk, and the Cotton Cloath they use is coarser. With regard to

* Yet all Travellers I have met with, declare 'em to be of a deep black Colour. The rest of the Description answers very well to what I have read. They are farther said to be extremely lively, to be of a very tractable Disposition ; and that they might make great Progress in Knowledge, had they Opportunities for improving themselves in it.

† 'Tis surprizing, that the *Abyssinians* should be only tawny, and their Neighbours of so black a Hue ; unless the Situation of *Abyssinia*, or some other Circumstance, should cause this Alteration.

the common People, they wear only Cotton Drawers, and a Scarf, which covers the rest of the Body *. The Manner of saluting in *Ethiopia* is very particular; they take one another by their right Hands, and carry it mutually to their respective Mouths. They also wind the Scarf of the Person whom they salute round him, by which Means such as wear no Vests remain half naked, when any Person compliments him in this Manner.

The Emperor's Name is *Jesus*. Tho' he be but forty-one, he has many Children; eight Princes, and three Princeesses. The Emperor is possess'd of great Qualities; he being of a lively and sagacious Genius, of an affable and sweet Temper, and is a Hero in Stature. I did not see any Man in all *Ethiopia* so finely shap'd as himself. He delights in the polite Arts and the Sciences, but his favourite Passion is War. He is ever brave and intrepid in Battle, and always at the Head of his Troops. He has an extraordinary Love for Justice, which he causes to be exactly administered to all his Subjects; but as he does not delight in Blood †, 'tis a Pain to him to order any Criminal for Execution. Being thus possess'd of such exalted Qualities, he is equally the Darling and Terror of his Subjects, who revere him to Adoration. I have been told that a Christian is not permitted to shed the Blood of another Christian, without the most cogent Reasons for it; and therefore the Emperor insists upon having the most strict Inquiries made before a Criminal is condemn'd to die. The Executions here are

* Some Travellers relate, that the poor People have only a small Piece of Skin or coarse Stuff wrapp'd round their Loins; in short, that they go almost naked.

† As Dr. Poncet has said above, that the favourite Passion of this Monarch is War; 'tis not very consistent to observe afterwards, that he does not delight in Blood. Dr. Poncet's Character of this Emperor seems all in the Strain of Panegyric.

Hanging or Beheading *. Some are sentenc'd to forfeit their Possessions, on which Occasion all Persons whatsoever are forbid, upon the most severe Penalties, to assist, or even so much as to give them the least Sustenance, whence these unhappy Creatures wander up and down like wild Beasts. As the Emperor is a Prince of great Humanity, he is easily prevail'd upon to pardon them. 'Tis surprising, that as the *Ethiopians* are so very active and hasty, we yet should scarce ever hear of a Murther, or of any of those enormous Crimes which strike the Mind with Horror, committed among them. Besides the Regard that is paid to Religion, I am perswaded that the strict Justice which is administred, and the excellent Polity found in this Empire, contribute greatly to the Integrity and Innocence of the Inhabitants.

I had carry'd with me into *Ethiopia* a Chest of chymical Medicines, the making of which took up six or seven Years. The Emperor enquir'd very minutely into the Manner of preparing these Medicines, how they were administred, what Effects they had, and the several Diseases to which they were applied. Not contented with this Account by Word of Mouth, he had it taken down in Writing. But the Circumstance which I admir'd most was, his comprehending, and being exceedingly well pleas'd with the several physical Reasons I gave him concerning all these Matters. I inform'd him of the Composition of a Kind of Bezoar-Stone, which I myself had always employ'd very successfully in curing intermitting Fevers of every Kind, as the

* 'Tis also said, that Criminals are often ston'd, or beat to Death with Clubs, Murtherers excepted, who may be either kill'd, tortur'd, or made Slaves of, as the Friends of the murther'd Person think proper. Persons of Quality are only banish'd. Adulterers are put to Death; but Thieves are only whipp'd, and oblig'd to make Restitution. 'Tis also related, that there are no Lawyers in this Country, the Parties pleading their own Causes.

Emperor

Emperor and two of the Princes, his Children, experienced. He also wou'd make me shew him the Manner in which Oils are extracted chymically.

For this Purpose he sent me to *Tzemba*, a Monastery situated on the River *Reb*, half a League from *Gondar*. The Abbot, who is rever'd by the Emperor, on Account of his great Probity and Virtue, received me with the utmost Civility. He is a venerable Sage of ninety, and one of the most learned Men in the whole Empire. I set up my Utenfils there, and made all the necessary Preparations. The Emperor came to us *incognito*. I made many Experiments before him, as well as communicated several Secrets, which he attended to with surprizing Curiosity. I think it incumbent on me to advise all Persons who wou'd carry Medicines into *Ethiopia*, to take none but those of a chymical Kind, because Electuaries and Syrups are apt to corrupt under the Line; whereas chymical Oils and Spirits may be easily convey'd without losing their Virtue, Heat not having the least Effect on them.

As I staid three Weeks with the Monarch at *Tzemba*, he, being of a very inquisitive Turn of Mind, as was before observ'd, frequently discours'd with me upon the Subject of Religion; express'd a great Desire to be made acquainted with our Doctrine, and to be inform'd of those Particulars wherein we differ from the Religion of the *Cophts* *, which is profess'd in *Ethiopia*. I endeavoured

* This is the Name of a People, or rather of a Sect of Christians of *Egypt*. They are great Lovers of the cloister'd Life, and have many Religious of both Sexes. None can be admitted into a religious House, without first obtaining Leave from his Bishop. These Religious make a Vow of perpetual Chastity, bid an eternal Adieu to their Parents and Possessions, and have no Property in any Thing. They live in Desarts, and have no other Cloathing but Woollen Garments; girding themselves

voured to satisfy him to the best of my Abilities; but confess'd, that not having studied the abstruse Points in Divinity, I therefore had brought with me one of the ablest Men both for Mathematicks and Divinity in *Europe*. The Emperor then sighing, cried, *I find that I have sustain'd a great Loss*. I will own that I was grievously afflicted, when I call'd to Mind that Death had bereav'd me of Father *de Brevedent*, my dear Companion; because

selves with a Piece of Leather. They never touch Meat, except in the most urgent Necessity; and are even forc'd to deny themselves every Kind of delicious Food; and to abstain from all Kinds of Aliments, which are not absolutely necessary for the Support of Life. They pass their Lives in Prayer, in working, and in the Study of the Scriptures. All of them, the Superiors and Sick excepted, sleep on Matts spread on the Ground. They are not allow'd to pull off their Cloaths to ungird themselves, nor two of them to sleep on the same Matt, nor near one another. They are oblig'd to observe the canonical Hours, and prostrate themselves, every Evening, an hundred and fifty Times with their Faces to the Ground, extending their Arms in Form of a Cross, keeping their Fists clinch'd, and making the Sign of the Cross at every Prostration. When they are not employ'd in hard Work, they are allow'd but one Meal a Day, and that in the Evening. Other Authors relate, that the religious *Cophts* of both Sexes are of the Dregs of the People. They subsist entirely on Alms, lead a very severe and mortified Life, and never eat any Meat, except when on a Journey. The Convents of their Women are properly Hospitals, and most of these Nuns are Widows, whom their Poverty brought into them. The *Cophts* are subject to a titular Patriarch of *Alexandria*. They are divided into three Orders, the Clergy, the Nobles, and the Plebeians. The Nobles (if they may be so call'd) are only so many Farmer-Generals in *Egypt*, under the Grand Seignior. These are very rich, but the rest of the *Cophts* are vastly poor, and both these Orders of the Laity are very ignorant. Some *Romish* Writers have reduced the Errors of the *Cophts* to six Heads. They have sometimes united with the Church of *Rome*, but never in earnest, and only when forc'd to it thro' Necessity. The *Coptic* is the old Language of the *Egyptians*, intermix'd with *Greek*; and the Characters of that Language are like those of the *Greek*. The *Cophts* have not spoke their antient Language these many Years, that being found only in their Books, the *Arabic* being the Language of the Country. There are Versions of the Scriptures in *Coptic*.

that

that Monk, who was a Person of great Abilities, and a very insinuating Address, wou'd have embrac'd this favourable Opportunity for converting this great Prince, and instructing him thoroughly in the Principles of the Catholic Church *.

One Day when the Abbot of the Monastery, my Interpreter, and I were together, the Emperor was very urgent with me to give my direct Opinion with Regard to the Person of Christ. I answer'd, that we did not believe that Christ's human Nature was absorb'd and lost in his divine Nature, in like Manner as a Drop of Wine is absorb'd and lost in the Sea, as is the Doctrine of the *Cophts* and *Ethiopians*, which the Emperor told me it was; but that our Belief is, that the Word, which is the second Person in the blessed Trinity, was really made Man; so that this Man-God, whom we call Jesus Christ, had two Natures; the divine, as being the Word and the second Person of the blessed Trinity; and the human Nature, in which he appear'd truly as Man; suffer'd really in his Body, and voluntarily submitted to Death, in order to save all Mankind. When I had done speaking, the Emperor turn'd to the Abbot, and, as I thought, discours'd with him concerning the Particulars I had been treating of. They did not seem to express the least Surprise; and 'tis my Opinion, that they do not differ very much from the Catholic Church in this Article. From that Time, the Abbot express'd greater Friendship for me than ever. During the Stay which the Emperor made in *Tzemba*, one of his most usual Diversions was to see his Pages ride, according to the Rules of their *Manege*, at which they are very expert.

* Dr. Poncet talks in so religious a Strain, that I should almost suspect that he himself was a Friar, in the Disguise of a Physician.

From *Tzemba*, to the Sources of the *Nile*, the Distance is not above Threescore *French* Leagues. I intended to see those famous Springs, concerning which so many Particulars are told in *Europe*; and the Emperor was pleased to order a Party of Horse to attend me; but it was not possible for me to embrace this favourable Opportunity, I being at that Time grievously afflicted with a Pain at my Stomach, which I have felt for many Years. I therefore desired *Moorat*, one of the Emperor's chief Ministers, and Uncle to the Ambassador above-mentioned, to give me some Account of them. *Moorat* is a venerable old Man, an hundred and four Years of Age, who, during upwards of Threescore Years, was employed in Negotiations of the utmost Importance at the *Great Mogul's* Court, and those of the rest of the Monarchs of *India*. The Emperor has so much regard for this Minister, that he commonly calls him *Baba Moorat*, or Father *Moorat*. Here follows what he related to me concerning the Sources of the *Nile*, which he had visited frequently, and enquired into with the utmost Care.

In the Kingdom of *Goyame* * is a very high Mountain, at the Top of which are two very large Springs, the one to the East, and the other to the West. These two Sources form two Rivulets, which rush down with great Impetuosity towards the middle of the Mountain, upon a loose, spongy Earth covered with Rushes and Reeds †. These Waters

* 'Tis called *Gojam* by some Travellers, and by them reckoned as one of the nine Provinces of the *Abyssinian* Empire.

† The Antients fixed the Sources of the *Nile*, in the Mountains of the Moon, in the Tenth Degree of Southern Latitude; but Modern Travellers place them about the Twelfth Degree of North Latitude; and consequently suppose its Course to be about 300 Leagues less than the Antients. This River is said to rise at the Foot of a great Mountain, in *Gojam*, and to issue from

Waters appear but ten or twelve Leagues from thence, where uniting, they form the River *Nile*, which soon swells, by the Addition of the Waters of several other Rivers, that empty themselves into it. A wonderful Circumstance is, that the *Nile* runs through the middle of a Lake without blending its Waters with it. This Lake is so very large, that 'tis called *Babal Dembea*, or the Sea of *Dem-*

from two Fountains, or two Eyes as the Natives call them, distant about 30 Paces from each other, and each of the Dimensions of one of our Wells, or of a Coach-Wheel. Father *Lobo* the Jesuit, who ('tis said) discovered these Sources about the beginning of the last Century, relates, that the largest of these two Sources being sounded, they found a Bottom at the Depth of 16 or 17 Foot: But that possibly, the Sounding-line might meet, in the Way, with the Roots of Briars, growing on the Margins, which perhaps prevented its descending lower. The other being sounded, they found 16 Palms. The Inhabitants who are *Heathens*, worship the greatest Source, and sacrifice to it several Oxen, the Flesh of which they eat as holy, and throw the Bones in a Place appointed for that Purpose. *Herodotus* mentioned the Sacrifices of the Oxen made at the Sources of the *Nile*, upwards of Two Thousand Years since. The Natives about these Sources, are called *Agas*, in the Kingdom of *Gojam*, in Twelve Degrees of North Latitude, and Fifty-five of Longitude. The Sources are in a Plain about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a League round, and surrounded with Mountains. After this they fall into a small Lake; next run under Ground the Distance of a Musket-shot; then wind, first North-east, and after flowing entirely Eastward, enter the great Lake of *Dambea*; and leaving this Lake, they fall among Rocks, which almost conceal this River from Sight, whence it runs a very long Way Southward, afterwards turns Westward; and at last runs back towards its Source, which it leaves about Ten Leagues Eastward. Thus it forms a Peninsula, which possibly was that called by the Antients, the Island of *Meroe*, and by the Moderns, the Island *Guegere*. It then flows through the rest of *Abyssinia*, *Nubia*, and *Egypt*, most of whose Cities are watered by it.—I shall not take upon me to determine, how much the above Relation ought to be depended upon, for, whilst the Jesuits affirm that the *Nile* rises from two Fountains, others affirm that it flows but from one, and that situated in a Plain, twelve Days Journey from *Gondar*, the Capital of *Ethiopia*. What is most to be depended upon, is the Course of the *Nile* from its famous Cataracts, the first of which is not far from the Lake *Dambea*.

bea.

bea *. The Country round it is inchantingly beautiful. On every side are seen Towns, and delightful Groves of Laurel-trees. 'Tis about an hundred Leagues in length, and thirty-five or forty broad. The Water of this Stream is soft and agreeable, and much lighter than that of the *Nile*. About the middle of the Lake is an Island, wherein stands one of the Emperor's Palaces, which, though not so large as that of *Gondar*, is yet equally beautiful and magnificent.

The Emperor went thither, and I had the Honour of accompanying him. He himself got into a little Boat, in which are three Rowers; and the Nephew of *Moorat*, with myself, followed him in another. These Boats, which will not hold above six Persons, are made of Bulrush-mats, joined together very neatly, but without Pitch or Tar. Though these Bulrushes are joined extremely close, I yet cannot conceive how 'tis possible for the Boats in question to keep out Water.

We staid three Days in that enchanting Palace, where I made some Chymical Experiments, with which the Emperor was highly pleased. This Palace is surrounded with Walls; and there are two Churches in it, under the Care of certain Friars who lead a Conventual Life. One of these Churches is dedicated to St. *Claudius*, and gives the Name to the Island, which is about a League in Circumference.

One Day, whilst we were in this Island, Word was brought the Emperor that four *Hyppopotamus*'s,

* We find *Dambea*, or *Dembya* in our Maps. 'Tis reckoned as one of the Principalities or Provinces of the *Ethiopian* Empire. In our Maps we find a great Lake about *Dembya*; but it is there called *Tzana* Lake; and to the South of it, the Head or Fountains of the *Nile* are specified.

or River-Horses, appeared in the Lake *. We had the Pleasure to see them half an Hour. They drove the Water before them, and sprung forward to a great Height. The Skin of two of these Animals was white, and that of the other two were red. Their Heads resembled that of a Horse, but their Ears were shorter. I could not form a Judgment of the rest of their Bodies, I having seen them but confusedly. These *Hyppopotami* are amphibious Creatures which come out of the Water in order to graze upon the Shore, whence they often carry off Goats and Sheep, and feed upon them. Their Skins are highly valued; and Shields are made of them, which are Proof against a Lance or Musket-ball. The *Ethiopians* eat the Flesh of those Animals, which must certainly be unwholesome.

The way of taking them is as follows. Whenever an *Ethiopian* spies one of them, he follows him with a drawn Sabre, and cuts off his Legs. The Animal being, by this means, rendered unable to swim, makes to the Shore, and there looses the rest of his Blood. The Emperor ordered the Canon to be fired at these *Hyppopotamus*'s; but as the Marksmen were not quick enough, the Animals plunged back into the Water, and disappeared.

The Emperor went from the Island of *St. Claudius*, to *Arrington*, where there is a Garrison, as I before observed; and I myself went to *Emfras*, a League distant from *Gondar*. The City of *Emfras* is not so large as *Gondar*, but more agreeable, more pleasingly situated, and the Houses are bet-

* Some say this Animal is as large as the Crocodile; that he will come out of the Water, and go even upon the Tops of Mountains to graze; and that he is at perpetual War with the Crocodile. *Thevenot* informs us, that he saw one in *Egypt*, as large as a Camel; and that its Skin was almost Musket-Proof. This *Hyppopotamus* was brought to *Cairo*, where *Thevenot* saw it. *Laduf* thinks this Animal to be the *Behemoth* mentioned in *Job*.

ter built. They are all separated one from the other by ever-green Hedges, which are covered with Fruits and Flowers; and intermixed with Trees planted at an equal Distance. Most of the Towns in *Ethiopia* are in this Form. The Emperor's Palace stands on an Eminence which surveys the whole City.

Emfras is famous for the Trade carried on there in Slaves and Civet. So prodigious a number of Civet-Cats * are brought here, that some Traders have three hundred of them. This Animal, (as its Name imports) is a kind of Cat, and is brought up with great Difficulty. 'Tis fed thrice a Week with raw Beef; and, the other Days, with a sort of Milk-Pottage. The *Ethiopians* perfume this Animal from Time to Time with Odours; and scrape or take off, once a Week, an oily Substance

* According to some Authors, this Animal is about the Size of a large Pole-cat; and its Eyes are said to shine like those of a Cat in the Night. The Colour predominant in this Animal is black. 'Tis very furious, and will often break its Teeth against the Iron, when pent in a Cage. Many think that the Receptacles of the Civet is a Bag below the Anus; and that it does not arise from its Sweat. Some imagine that 'tis the *Hyæna* mentioned by *Aristotle*, which was a smaller Sort of *Hyæna*; but others think the Civet-Cat was unknown to the Antients. The Author of *Speçtacle de la Nature*, Vol. I. says that the Civet-Cat is peculiar to *America*; and larger than the House-Cat; but some Authors I have read, and particularly one, mentioned below, relates that this Animal is also found in *Guinea*. The Name is said to be derived from *Zibet* or *Zebed*, an *Arabic* Word signifying Froth, or Foam, the Liquid which comes from the Civet-Cat being frothy; and is put into a Sweat by being drove about in the Cage in which 'tis confined, with a little Stick. Mr. *John Atkins* of *Plaistow* in *Essex*, a Gentleman I believe, of the greatest Veracity, informs us in the Note, page 52. of his *Voyage*, printed at *London* 1735. "That the Civet is about as large as a Ram-Cat, and comes from *Sherbro* in *Guinea*. Its Head is like the Fox's. The Male only affords the Perfume, at the Rate of three or four Grains a Day, gathered with a Quill out of a little Codd or Hole, near the *Intestinum Rectum*."

which

which issues from its Body with the Sweat. This Excrement is called Civet from the Name of the Animal. This Substance is put up carefully into an Ox's Horn, which they stop very close.

I arrived at *Emfras* at the Time of the Vintage, which, in *Ethiopia*, is always in *February*; and not in *Autumn*, as in *Europe*. I there saw Bunches of Grapes which weighed upwards of eight Pounds, the Stones whereof were as big as large Nuts. There are some of all Colours. The White Grapes, though extremely well-tasted, are not esteemed by the *Abyssinians*; and asking the Cause of it, I had reason to conjecture by the Answer, that it is because they are of the same Colour with the *Portuguese* *. The *Abyssinian* Friars inspire the common People with so great an Aversion for the *Europeans*, who are white in Comparison of them, that they cause them to despise, and even hate every Thing that resembles them in Colour.

Emfras is the only City in *Ethiopia* where the *Mohammedans* are allowed the public Exercise of their Religion, and where their Houses are intermixed with those of the *Christians*.

The *Ethiopians* have but one Wife, but would be very glad were a Plurality permitted; and that some Text in the Gospel could be found to countenance such a Practice. Whilst I was *Tzamba* with the Emperor, he asked my Opinion about this Matter. I answered, that a Plurality of Wives was neither necessary to Man, nor agreeable to God, since he had created but one Wife for *Adam*; and this was what our Lord hinted at, when he told the *Jews* that the only Reason why *Moses* allowed them a Plurality, was, because of the Hardness of their Hearts; but that Things had not been so from the Beginning. The *Abyssinian* Monks are vastly

* This is whimsical enough.

severe to such Men as have above one, but the Lay-Judges are much more indulgent.

The *Ethiopians* profess the *Christian* Religion. They admit the holy Scriptures and Sacraments; they believe the Transubstantiation of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of our Saviour*; they invoke the Saints as we (the *Romanists*) do; receive the Communion under both kinds; and consecrate like the *Greeks* with leavened Bread. They keep four Lents, as is the Custom of the *Easterns*; viz. the great Lent which continues fifty Days; that of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, which sometimes lasts forty Days, and sometimes less, as *Easter* falls higher or lower; that of our Lady's Assumption, which continues a Fortnight, and that of Advent which lasts Three Weeks. During these several Lents, the *Abyssinians* eat neither Eggs, Butter, nor Cheese; and take no Sustenance whilst the Sun is up; but they eat and drink till Midnight after it is set. *Ethiopia* not producing Olives, the Natives are obliged to make use of an Oil they extract from a Berry of that Country. 'Tis agreeable enough to the Taste. They observe a no less rigorous Fast every *Wednesday* and *Friday* throughout the Year. They always pray before Meals. The Peasants an Hour before Sun-set leave their Work to go to Prayers; they never eating till after they have acquitted themselves of that Duty. No Person is dispensed from Fasting; to which all Persons whether old or young, and even the Sick are equally engaged. Children are commonly brought to the Communion when about Ten Years old; and from that Time they are obliged to fast.

The Declaration which they make of their Sins is very imperfect, and is performed in manner following. They go and fall prostrate at the Feet of

* This is denied by the most approved Writers on *Abyssinia*, as well as some other Points mentioned by our Traveller.

the Priest, who is seated; and there accuse themselves, in general, of being great Sinners; and that they merit Hell, without once specifying any of the particular Sins they may have committed. After this Declaration the Priest, holding the Book of the Gospels in his Left-hand, and the Cross in his Right; touches, with the Cross, the Eyes, Ears, Nose, Mouth and Hands of the Penitent, repeating some Prayers. He afterwards reads the Gospel, makes several Signs of the Cross over him, enjoins him a certain Penance, and dismisses him.

The *Ethiopians* appear with much greater Modesty and Awe in their Churches, than People generally do in *Europe*. They never enter them but bare-footed, for which Reason the Pavement of their Churches is covered with Carpets. No one is heard to speak, or blow his Nose in them, or seen to turn his Head. Every Person who goes to Church is obliged to put on clean Linnen, otherwise he would be refused Admittance. When the Lord's Supper is administred, all Persons, the Priest and Communicants excepted, withdraw; I know not whether this be done out of Humility, as thinking themselves unworthy to partake of the Divine Mysteries.

Their Churches are very neat, and adorned with Pictures, but never with Statues or Images in Relief. Nevertheless the Emperor accepted of some Crucifixes of that Sort, which I had the Honour to present him, as likewise several Miniature Paintings, which he kissed respectfully, and ordered them to be put into his Closet. The Paintings in Miniature were Images of Saints, whose Names he caused to be writ under them, in *Ethiopic* Characters. 'Twas on this Occasion the Emperor told me, that we were all of the same Religion, and differed only in the Ceremonies. They perfume with Incense almost continually during their Masses and the Office

fice. Though they have no Music Books, they yet chaunt in a just and agreeable manner, and Musical Instruments are sounded on these Occasions. The Friars rise twice in the Night to sing Psalms. The Dress of their Monks when out of Church, is very like that of the Seculars; and they are distinguished only by a Yellow or Purple Leather-Cap wore on their Heads. The Diversity of Colours distinguishes their Orders. The Friars in general are greatly esteemed in *Ethiopia*.

The *Abyssinians* borrowed Circumcision from the *Jews*. A Child is circumcised the seventh Day after its Birth; and is not baptized till afterwards, except it is in Danger of dying, for then its Baptism would not be deferred a Moment. They do not consider Circumcision as a Sacrament, but merely as a Ceremony, practised in Imitation of our Saviour, who thought it requisite to be circumcised. I have been assured that the Popes of *Rome* had tolerated Circumcision in *Abyssinia*, but with this Restriction, that they were not to consider it as necessary to Salvation *. I could add many other curious Particulars. Perceiv-

* With Respect to the Religion of the *Abyssinians*, this is what I find in the most approved Writers. It was observed before, that their Religion is a Mixture of *Christianity* and *Judaism*. Circumcision is performed by an old Woman, but Priests baptize. Infants are baptized by a gentle Immersion and sprinkling with Water, but adult Persons are plunged thrice in some Pond or River. They receive the Sacraments under both kinds; and the Liquor used on these Occasions is made of the bruised Stones of Raisins, infused in Water, which, after giving the Bread, the Deacon delivers to the Communicant in a Spoon. They likewise burn Perfumes. All Persons receive the Sacrament once a Month, or oftner if they think proper. They acknowledge the same Books of Scripture as we do. They admit the Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, and *Ephesus*. They use the *Nicene* Creed, but not that of the Apostles. They declare that the Three Persons in the Trinity are one God. They acknowledge but two Sacraments, Baptism and the last Supper. They believe in the real Presence, but not in Transubstantiation.

They

Perceiving that my Health decayed daily, I resolved to return to *France*, and to desire leave of the Emperor for that Purpose. He seemed very uneasy when I told him my Design, and therefore gave fresh Orders to have the utmost Care taken of me, he being afraid that I was dissatisfied. He offered me Houses and Lands, and even a very considerable Establishment; but how desirous soever I might be, to serve so gracious a Prince, who possessed such exalted Qualities; I observed to him, that ever since the grievous Fit of Sickness which had like to have been fatal to me at *Barko*, I could not recover my Health, though I had tried the several Powers of Physic, and made use of all the Precautions imaginable. That I found it would not be possible for me to recover, unless I went into another Climate; in short, except I returned to my Native Country. I declared that it was the greatest Pain to me to think of leaving so gracious a King; but that I should certainly die, if I continued any longer in *Ethiopia*. The Emperor then granted, though with the utmost Reluctance, the Favour I so earnestly requested; but upon this Condition, that I should return to his Court, as soon as I had recovered my Health; and in order to bind me by the most sacred of all Engagements, he obliged me to swear

They say, that there are not two Natures and two Wills in Christ. Auricular Confession is not practised by them. They believe the Immortality of the Soul, and that the Souls of good Men are not admitted into Heaven till the Resurrection. They invoke Saints, Angels, and the Virgin *Mary*. They observe *Christmas*, *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, and other Festivals; and fast the Days of Lent, besides some others. The Emperor is, as was before observed, Head both in Spirituals and Temporals. Their Patriarch, who is consecrated by him of *Alexandria*, confers Orders on their Clergy, who are principally Monks. The Monarch, and the chief Nobility take Deacons Orders. The People use lighted Tapers at Divine Service. They always stand in their Churches, which are kept very neat, and they never spit in them. During Divine Service, they are allowed to lean on Crutches.

upon the holy Gospels that I would keep my Word.

The Esteem he entertained for our Monarch, from the Character I had drawn, as well as from the Particulars others had told him, made the Emperor desirous of entring into an Alliance with a Prince, whose Reputation was so great in every Part of the World *; and for that Purpose to send an Embassador with Credentials and Presents. At first he pitched upon an Abbot called *Abona Gregorios* †; and, in that view, commanded me to teach him the *Latin* Tongue. As this Friar was a Person of very good Sense, and spoke and wrote *Arabic* perfectly, he made, in a very short Time, a very considerable Progress in that Language; but as the *Abyssinian* Monarchs employ Foreigners in Embassies, rather than Natives, it was no difficult Matter for *Mocrat* to get his Nephew appointed Embassador to *France*. The Emperor declared him publicly such; and accordingly ordered his Presents to be got ready, consisting in Elephants, Horses, *Ethiopian* Children, &c.

As I was once waiting upon the Emperor, before he was fixed with Regard to the Choice of an Embassador, he sent for the Princes his Children; when directing himself to one of the youngest, who was about eight or nine Years of Age, he declared, that he had some Thoughts of sending him into *France*, the finest Country in the World ‡. The young Prince answered, with a great deal of ready Wit, that it would be the utmost Pain to him to leave his Majesty; however, that if he thought it pro-

* The Reader may have observed, in the Course of these several Travels, that the *French* take all Opportunities of exalting their Country and their Monarch.

† Our Authors commonly write this Word thus, *Abbuna*.

‡ Many of my Readers will probably look upon this, and what follows, as a Flourish.

per for him to undertake this Voyage, he was ready to obey his Commands. The Emperor, directing himself afterwards to me, asked what Treatment his Son would meet with at the Court of *France*; to which I replied, that all those Honours would be shewn him, which were due to the greatest and most powerful Monarch in *Africa*. *He is too young at present*, said the Emperor; *and the Voyage is too long and too hazardous; but I perhaps may send him one of these Days, when he is older, and more able to undergo the Fatigues of such a Voyage.*

My Departure being fixed, the Emperor admitted me to the Audience of leave with the usual Ceremonies. As soon as I came into his Presence, the chief Treasurer brought a Bracelet of Gold, and this the Emperor himself was pleased to fix round my Arm, Trumpets sounding and Kettle-Drums beating. The Honour paid in *Ethiopia*, on this Occasion, is equivalent to the Order of Knighthood in *Europe*. He afterwards presented me with the ceremonial Mantle; and as it was Dinner-time, he was so gracious as to bid me stay; and made me dine at a Table, which, though not so high as his own, stood very near it. The Entertainment being ended, I took leave of the Emperor, who commanded the chief Treasurer to furnish me with every Thing I might want.

The second of *May* 1700 was fixed for my Departure. An Officer, with a Guard of an hundred Horse, was ordered to escort me to the Frontiers of the Empire, together with an Interpreter who could speak the Languages of the several Provinces we were to pass through, every Province having its peculiar Tongue *. Several Merchants who were

* I suppose these are only so many Dialects.

going to *Messua* *, joined Company with me, they being very desirous of embracing this Opportunity of travelling with so much Safety. Though *Moorat* †, the Embassador, intreated me to set out as soon as possible, for fear of the Rains, which began to fall every Night; he himself was not able to go so soon, being detained by the Emperor. We agreed upon *Duvarna* as the Place of our Rendezvous, in order that we might set out together. I was prodigiously affected at my taking leave of this Monarch, who gave me all possible Demonstrations of his Affection, and seemed sorry to part with me. I can never think of that Prince but with the deepest Sense of the Obligations I owe him; and would my Health have permitted, I should have devoted myself entirely to him, and sacrificed the Remainder of my Days to his Service. The chief Noblemen of the Court did me the Honour to accompany me two Leagues, pursuant to the Orders given them for that Purpose.

We took the City of *Emfras*, which I mentioned before, in our Way. The Officer, our Conductor always arrived an Hour before us at the Place appointed for our Quarters. He went and alighted either at the Governor's House, or at that of the principal Person of the Village; and shewed him the Orders of the Court, written on a Roll of Parchment. This Roll is put in a small Gourd, which, being tied with silken Strings, hangs about the Officer's Neck. The Moment of his Arrival, the chief Persons of the Town or Place assemble before the Governor's Door, where, in their Pre-

* I imagine this is the Island, in the *Red Sea*, called *Matzuma* in our Maps, lying near the Port of *Erquico*, which is that, as I suppose, our Traveller elsewhere, calls *Arcouva*.

† Our Traveller tells us a little above, that *Moorat* the Minister, got his Nephew appointed Embassador. This Nephew must therefore have also been named *Moorat*, or our Author must have committed a Mistake.

fence, he takes off his Gourd, breaks it, and pulls out the little Roll of Parchment, called in their Language, *Ati Heses*, or *the Emperor's Order*. He afterwards presents it very respectfully to the Governor; telling him, at the same Time, that if he does not comply with the Contents, he must answer it with his Head. Every Order, the Disobedience to which is Death, is writ in red Letters. The Governor, as a Testimony of his Respect and Compliance, takes and lays it on his Head; and afterwards issues a Command, throughout his whole Province, for defraying the Expence of the Officer and of all those in his Retinue.

We employed one Day in travelling from *Gondar* to *Emfras*, and were obliged to go over a high Mountain, through very bad Roads. On this Mountain stands a large Monastery, with a Church dedicated to *St. Anne*. This Place is famous, and Pilgrims visit it from a great Distance. In this Monastery is a Spring, the Water of which is extremely clear and cool; and Pilgrims drink of it out of Devotion. They affirm that many miraculous Cures are wrought by it, at the Intercession of *St. Anne*, whom the *Abyssinians* consider as a great Saint.

We arrived at *Emfras* the third of *May*, and took up our Quarters in a fine House belonging to old *Moorat*, where I was entertained three Days. In this City I heard a Concert composed of a Harp and a sort of Violin which is very like ours. I also was at a kind of Dramatic Entertainment. The Actors sing Verses in Honour of the Person whom they are to divert, and play a thousand Feats of Activity. Some perform a grand Dance to the Sound of small Kettle-Drums; and being very nimble and light, they throw themselves into a thousand antic Postures. Others holding a naked Sabre in one Hand, and a Buckler in the other, represent Combats in their

their dancing *; and leap in so surprizing a manner, that no one but those who had been Spectators on such Occasions could think it possible. One of these Dancers brought me a Ring, and desiring me to hide it myself, or get some other Person to hide it, said he would find it out. I took it, and hid it so cunningly that I thought it impossible for him ever to find out the Place: However, I was surprized, a Moment after, to see him come up, dancing in Cadence, and whisper in my Ear, that he had the Ring, and consequently that I had not hid it artfully. Others held a Lance in one Hand, and a Glas filled with Mead in the other, and leaped to a prodigious Height without spilling a Drop.

From *Emfras* we went and lay at *Coga*, formerly the Residence of the Emperors of *Ethiopia*. The City is small but delightfully situated, and the Places round it are vastly agreeable. I took up my Quarters at the House of the Governor of the Province, who paid me great Honours, as did the rest of the Governors and Heads of Villages, at whose Houses I lodged in the Way. At *Coga*, our Conductor began to entrust the Baggage with the Lords of the several Villages, who ordered them to be carried to the Frontier, in the manner related above. I have not given a very accurate Account of the various Places through which we travelled; I being at that Time too weak and indisposed, to take the Notice I should otherwise have done.

We employ'd seven or eight Days in crossing the Province of *Ogara*, where the Heats are less violent than in other Places, which is owing to the many very high Mountains in that Neighbourhood. I was told, that Ice is found on them at certain Sea-

* This seems to be something like the *Pyrrhic* Dance of the Antients, said to be invented by *Pyrrhus* the Son of *Achilles*, and performed by the Dancers striking on the Shields with their Arms, to the Sound of musical Instruments.

fons of the Year, but I dare not assert this for a Truth. Some Houses, on these Mountains, are cut in the Rock ; and I was shew'd a Place, where certain young Folks hiding themselves in order to carouze, were all petrified. Those who inform'd me of this Particular, declar'd that these young Debauchees are seen to this Day, in the several Postures they were in when this sad Accident happen'd. I am of Opinion, that these are some of the Petrifications in which Nature is sometimes pleas'd to sport herself *. There are so great a Number of Houses

* Our Traveller's mentioning these Petrifications, (which no doubt are fictitious,) puts me in Mind of a Relation publish'd in one of our News-papers some Years since (1), and which was greatly taken Notice of at that Time, as containing some amazing Particulars. The Article, as transcrib'd from that Paper now before me, is as follows.

London.

" *Cassim Aga*, the present Envoy of *Tripoli* to his Britannic Majesty, having received an Account of the Discovery of a petrify'd Town in *Africa*, where the Inhabitants, Cattle, Trees, and every Thing are turn'd into Stone ; it was given to the Interpreter to his Majesty for the oriental Languages (2), who has translated it from the *Arabic* of the Envoy's own Hand-writing, into *French*, which in *English* is as follows.

" Praise to God alone.

" A Friend of mine having desir'd me to tell him in Writing, what I have heard concerning the petrify'd Town, I shall
" give

(1) In November, 1728.

(2) This was Mr. Dadichi, born in Aleppo, and educated at Paris ; a Gentleman famous for his uncommon Skill in the Eastern Languages ; in those of Greece and Rome ; in the several polite modern ones, and in every Part of Literature ; all which were set off by a very communicative Disposition, of which I was so happy as to receive many Testimonies.

This Relation of the petrified Town I myself translated into English, from the MS. given me by Mr. Dadichi. During my Stay in Paris, the ingenious and learned Mr. de Bremond, a Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, and of our Royal Society in London, and Translator of our Philosophical Transactions into French, promis'd to favour me with a profess'd Refutation (in MS.) of this Tripoline Story ; but he being afterwards extremely ill, I was oblig'd to leave France without it.

Houses in these Mountains, that the whole seem one continued City, and they are built in an orbicular Form. The Roofs, which are in the Figure of a Cone, are made of Bulrushes, and supported by Walls rais'd about ten or twelve Foot from the Ground. The Houses are very neat within, and adorn'd with *Indian* Reeds artfully dispos'd. On all Sides we see Markets, where Cattle and Provisions of every Kind are sold. The Place in question is prodigiously populous.

From the Province of *Ogara* * we entered into that of *Siry*, where the Language of *Tigra* begins to

“ give himself a Relation thereof, as I had it from several Persons,
 “ and particularly from one Man of Credit, who went on the
 “ Spot, purposely to satisfy himself concerning the Truth of
 “ it; and the Account he gives is as follows.

“ That the Town lies two Days Journey South from *Ouguela*, which is distant from *Tripoli* S. E. seventeen Days
 “ March with the Caravans. That when he came to the
 “ Town, which is large and of an orbicular Form, wherein are
 “ several spacious as well as narrow Streets, full of Shops, and
 “ defended by a very large and magnificent Castle, he saw many petrified Trees, in and about the Town, most of them
 “ lives and Palms, but all turn'd into Stone of a Blue or Ash
 “ Colour.

“ That the Inhabitants are also petrified: The Men whilst
 “ following their several Occupations; some with Stuffs or Silks
 “ in their Hands, others with Bread. In short, all of them in
 “ some Action; and the Women with their Infants at the Breast;
 “ and others in strict Embraces with Men, all turn'd into Stone.
 “ That he entered the Castle by three different Gates, but that
 “ there are more; and that he saw, in the Castle, a Man petrified,
 “ lying on a Bed of Stone, as were the very Centinels
 “ standing at the Gates, with their Pikes and Javelins in their
 “ Hands.

“ That he also saw several Sorts of Animals, such as Camels,
 “ Oxen, Horses, Asses, Sheep, and Birds, all turn'd into Stone
 “ of the Colour abovementioned”. This romantic Story seems
 to be copied from a Relation of Mr. *le Maire*, who travelled at
 the Expence of Count *de Toulouse*, and is inserted in *Lucas's*
Voyages, Tom. II. pag. 97. *Amsterdam* 1714, 12mo.

* I don't find that the Names, given by our Traveller, of
 the several Provinces of the *Abyssinian* Empire, are any Way
 like

to be spoke. Before we arriv'd at *Siry*, the Capital of this Province, we cross'd the River of *Tekefel*, or *The Dreadful*, so call'd because of its Rapidity. 'Tis four times as broad as the *Seine* in *Paris*, and is cross'd in Boats, there being no Bridge over it. This is the finest and most fruitful Province I met with in all *Abyssinia*. We there see very beautiful wide-extended Plains, water'd with Springs, and interspers'd with large Forests of Orange, Lemon, Pomegranate, and Jessamin Trees. These Trees are so common in *Ethiopia*, that they grow there and flourish without the least Culture or Care. The Fields and Meadows are cover'd with Tulips, Ranunculus's, Pinks, Lilies; Rose-bushes which produce red and white Roses; and a thousand other Sorts of Flowers unknown to us, all which embalm the Air with a stronger and more delicious Fragrance, than those of the most lovely rural Scenes in *Provence*. The Officer who conducted us has a very fine Country-seat in this Province, and I was entertain'd a Week at it. I began to observe, in this Place, that the Swelling which I had in the Orifice of my Stomach grew less; and that Exercise, and the Country Air, gave me an Appetite, and had a good Effect upon my Constitution in general. In this Country-seat I receiv'd the Visit which the Governor of the Province honour'd me with by the Emperor's Order. He caus'd a young Elephant to be brought thither, which the Ambassador was to carry into *France*, and present to the King; such being the Import of his Orders inclos'd in the small Gourds.

From

like those I find in other Authors who have writ on this Country. The Provinces, as specified in some other Authors, stand thus. 1. *Ambara*. 2. *Begamedry*. 3. *Dambea*. 4. *Shoa*. 5. *Gojam*. 6. *Bugna*. 7. *Samen*. 8. *Gonza*. 9. *Walaka*. The chief City in *Ethiopia*, in those Authors, is called *Ambara*, from the first Province; whereas 'tis called *Gondar* by our Traveller, as the Reader may have seen above. Possibly the *Abyssinian* Monarchs may have built, or removed to *Gondar* of late Years.

From the Province of *Siry* we went into that of *Adooa* *, the Capital whereof is called by the same Name. The Governor of this Province is one of the seven chief Ministers of the Empire. The Emperor bestow'd one of his Daughters in Marriage on the Son of this Governor, who presides over twenty-four lesser Governments or Principalities. Being arriv'd at his chief City, he order'd a most splendid Tent to be set up in his Palace for my Reception. He lodg'd me in a very noble Apartment, and entertain'd me sixteen Days with a Magnificence suitable to his Dignity and Rank. This Governor was the Person appointed to furnish me abundantly with all Things necessary for my embarking on the *Red Sea*, and this he did in the most obliging Manner possible. Here I eat some *Ethiopian* Beef (of the wild Kind) which is thought a Dainty in this Country; and indeed 'tis extremely well-tasted and delicate. The wild *Abyssinian* Oxen have no Horns, and are not so large as ours in *France*.

There are also a vast Number of Roe-bucks in this Province, but I did not see many Hinds or Stags. After returning Thanks to this Governor, from whom we had received numberless Favours, we continued our Journey. We past through a Forest full of Apes of all Sizes, which climb'd up the Trees with surprizing Agility; and diverted us very much with their ever-varying Leaps. We afterwards enter'd into the Province of *Saravi*, where the little Elephant I was to carry into *France* died, which gave me some Uneasiness.

In this Province are found the finest Horses in all *Ethiopia*, and the Imperial Stables are fill'd with them. There the Embassador was order'd to procure the Horses he was to take into *France*. These Animals, which are full of Fire, and of the Size of those of *Arabia*, always carry their Heads aloft. They

* *Adooa*, in *French*.

They are not shod; the *Ethiopians* never shoeing their Horses, or any other Beasts of Burthen.

From *Saravi* we arriv'd at last at *Duvarna*, the chief City of the Kingdom of *Tigra* *. There are two Governors in this Province, but for what Reason I know not, nor their several Jurisdic-tions. They are call'd Barnagas, or Kings of the Sea, probably because of their being in the Neighbourhood of the *Red Sea*.

Duvarna is divided into two Cities, the Upper and the Lower, the latter of which is inhabited by the *Mohammedans*. All Commodities that come into *Ethiopia*, by the *Red Sea*, pass through *Duvarna*. This City, which is about two Leagues round, is, as it were, the general Storehouse of all the Commodities of *India*. All its Houses are built of square Stones, and the Roofs are so many Terrasses. The River of *Moraba*, which flows at the Foot of this City, empties itself into the *Tekefel* †. 'Tis not broad, but vastly rapid, and cannot be cross'd without Danger. We were two Months and a half in travelling from *Gondar* to this City, where I was to wait for *Moorat*.

Soon after my Arrival, an Express came to the two Governors, with the sad News of the Death of Prince *Basilius*, the Emperor's eldest Son, and presumptive Heir to the Crown. This Youth, who died at about nineteen Years of age, was Master of all the Qualities that can distinguish a Prince. Abstracted from his exterior Graces, he possess'd the several Virtues that can adorn the human Mind, he being a Person of good Sense, brave, just, and generous, which made him the Delight of the whole Court. He was snatch'd away by a malignant Fever,

* I find a Province called *Tigr*, in *Moll's Maps*. In all Probability this is what is here called *Tigra*; tho' it does not there seem to lie near the *Red-Sea*, as Dr. *Pencet* places it.

† The *Tacaze*, I suppose, as 'tis called in our Maps.

ver, at his Return from a Campaign made under the Emperor, against the *Gallas*, in which he had signaliz'd himself; he pursuing the Enemy with so much Vigour, that eight fell by his Hand. This Prince had a tender Regard for the People, whose Parent he would have been, had Heaven indulg'd him a longer Course of Years, a Proof of which he gave the Night before his Death. The Monarch being come to pay him a Visit, attended by the chief Noblemen of the Court, the Prince said that he had but one Request to make: 'Tis this, Sir, said he: *Comfort your Subjects, who are grievously oppress'd by the insatiable Avarice of your Ministers and Governors.* The Emperor was so affected with these Words, that he could not forbear shedding Tears; promising, at the same Time, to look carefully into the Matter. I was told this Particular by the Person who brought the News of his Death to *Duvarna*; with the Order for offering up Prayers for the deceas'd Prince, and weeping for him, as is the usual Custom. The Circumstances related concerning his Virtues are worthy of everlasting Remembrance. The Emperor happening to fall into an Ambuscade of the Enemy, the young Prince rode with all imaginable Speed to his Assistance; rush'd among the thickest of the Foe; charg'd them on all Sides; and behav'd so gallantly, that he sav'd his Father's Life at the Hazard of his own.

The Emperor, either out of Policy or for Diversion sake, sometimes disguises himself, and withdraws, with two or three Confidants, so that none else know what is become of him. He once absented himself during two Months, which made the Prince his Son prodigiously uneasy, it being suppos'd that the Emperor was dead.

Some of the most considerable Noblemen of the Court, who were very desirous of raising themselves, by flattering the Ambition of the young Prince,

Prince, advis'd him to assume the Helm of Government, and to cause himself to be declar'd Emperor; observing it might naturally be fear'd, that in the then present Posture of Affairs, some of his Brothers might anticipate him, and stir up certain Provinces. They promis'd, at the same Time, to be faithful to him; and declared that they were ready to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for his Sake.

The Prince, who was extremely fond of his Father, and inviolably attached to his Interest, reject-ed with Indignation the Proposal made him by those venal Courtiers; and declar'd that he would never ascend the Throne till such Time as he saw his Father's Body. The Monarch returned some Days after; and was inform'd, by a faithful Courtier, of the several pernicious Counsels which had been given his Son. As he is a very wise and discreet Monarch, he made no Stir upon this Occasion; however, the Flatterers disappear'd, and have never been seen since. The presumptive Heir to the Crown has a Principality annexed to his Person. I travelled thro' this Principality in my Way to *Duvar-na*. The City is called *Heleni*, and we there see a very noble Monastery and a most magnificent Church. 'Tis the finest and largest in all *Ethiopia*, and dedicated to St. *Helena*, which, probably, is the Reason why the City is called *Heleni*. In the Center of the large Square or Court before the Church, are three Spires, in a pyramidical Form, made of Granit *, and covered with Hieroglyphicks. Among these Figures, I observ'd, on every Face, a Lock cut; which is something extraordinary, as the *Ethiopians* don't employ Locks, nor so much as know the Use of them. Tho' these Spires have no Pedestals, they seem as high as the Obelisk, placed on its Pedestal, before St. *Peter's* in

* A Kind of Marble.

Rome. This Country is thought to have been that of the Queen of *Sheba* *; several Villages in the Jurisdiction of that Principality being called *Sabaim* to this Day. In the Mountains is dug Marble, no Ways inferior to that of *Europe*; but a more considerable Circumstance is, the People find a great deal of Gold, even in ploughing the Ground; and some Pieces of Gold, which I thought very pure, were brought me privately. The Friars belonging to this Church wear Garments of yellow Skins, of which their Skull-Caps are also made.

Upon the Arrival of the Courier which brought the sad News of Prince *Basilus*'s Death, the *Barnagas*'s caused it to be published, by Sound of Trumpet, in the several Towns under their Jurisdiction. All Persons mourned, which is perform'd by shaving the Head; and this is done by Men, Women, and Children, throughout the whole Empire. On the Morrow the two Governors, followed by the Soldiery and a numberless Multitude of People, went to the Church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, where a solemn Service was performed in Commemoration of the deceased Prince; after which they returned to the Palace in the same Order. The two *Barnaga*'s sat down in a spacious Hall, seating me between them; afterwards the Officers and Persons of Distinction of both Sexes placed themselves round the Hall. Women with Tabors, and Men having none, placed themselves in the Middle of the Hall, and began to sing a Sort of Song in Honour of the Prince, and this in so very mournful a Tone, that I could not forbear weeping. The Ceremony lasted about an Hour. Some, as a Token of their Grief, scratched their Faces till the Blood came, or

* 'Tis said, that the *Abyssinian* Monarchs fancy themselves to be descended from *Maqueda*, (or *Nizaule*, according to *Josephus*) Queen of the South, or *Sheba*.

burnt their Temples with Wax-Tapers *. None but Persons of Quality were in this Hall; the common People being in the Courts, where they vented Cries in so doleful a Strain, as must have moved the most stony Hearts. These Ceremonies lasted three Days, as is the usual Custom.

I am to observe, that whenever an *Ethiopian* dies, dreadful Cries are heard on every Side. All the Neighbours meet in the House of the Deceased, and weep with the Relations who come there for that Purpose. The dead Body is washed with peculiar Ceremonies; and after being wrapp'd in a Winding-Sheet of new Cotton, 'tis laid in a Coffin standing in the Middle of a Hall, where Wax Tapers are burning. They then redouble their Wailings and Tears, Tabors sounding all the Time. Some address themselves in Prayer to Heaven for the Soul of the Deceased; others repeat Verses in his Praise; tear their Hair, scratch their Faces, or burn their Flesh with Torches as an Indication of their Grief. This Ceremony, which is prodigiously affecting, lasts till the Friars come and take up the Body. After singing certain Psalms, and making the several Perfumings with Incense, they begin to walk, holding an Iron Cross in their right Hand, and a Prayer Book in their left. They themselves carry the Body, and sing Psalms all the Way: The Relations and Friends of the Deceased follow after, still continuing their Lamentations; Tabors beating all the Way. All have their Heads shaved, which is the Indication of Mourning, as I observ'd before. When they pass before any Church the Procession halts: Then they offer up certain Prayers, and afterwards proceed forward till they come to the Place of Burial. Here they again begin the Perfumings with Incense; sing Psalms for some Time in a mournful Tone, and lay the Body in the Ground. Persons

* This must be a very odd Manner of expressing Grief.

of some Consideration are buried in the Churches, and the Vulgar in common Church-yards, where a great Number of Crosses are set up, much after the same Manner as in the Convents of the *Carthusians*. The Company then return to the House of the Deceased, where a Feast is made. They meet there Morning and Evening, during three Days, in order to weep; and all this Time they take no Sustenance except in that Place. The three Days being ended, they separate till the eighth Day after the Interment; and assemble in order to weep for two Hours once a Week, which Custom they observe the whole Year round; and this is their Anniversary *.

When a Prince, who is Heir to the Crown, or some other Person of very great Distinction dies, the Emperor does not concern himself, for 3 Months, with public Affairs, unless they are extremely urgent. As this Monarch intended to send an Ambassador into *France*, he commanded *Moorat* to come to him; gave him his Orders and credential Letters for the King; and after investing him with the ceremonial Mantle, in a publick Audience, bid him set out. However, his Journey was no ways fortunate, the Horses which he was to present to our Monarch dying on the Road; and as *Moorat* was obliged to send to Court for a fresh Supply, this Accident retarded our Progress so much, that I resolved to go before to *Maizuma* † to give Orders for our Embarkation, and wait for him there.

* All Writers on *Ethiopia*, that have fallen into my Hands agree, that the *Abyssinians* make great Howlings at the Death of their Relations and Friends: That the Corps, after being washed and perfumed, is wrapt in a Cloth; and being carried on a Bier by some of the Clergy (as is the Custom among the *Romanists*) these read certain Passages out of the Psalms over it; they having no express funeral Service. 'Tis farther said, that the *Abyssinians* never use Coffins; and that the Relations and Friends mourn some Time in tatter'd Garments.

† *Messua*, in the Original.

This

The evening before my Departure, the Barnagas's, after sending away the Forces which had conducted me as far as *Duvarna*, ordered an hundred Foot Soldiers, armed with Lances, and headed by an Officer on Horseback, to be in Readiness to march on the Morrow, to guard me to *Matzuma*. I dismissed part of my Servants, and kept only thirty. I set out from *Duvarna* the eighth of September, 1700, and with great Difficulty and Danger cross'd *Moraba* *, a very rapid River.

From *Duvarna* the Lords of the several Villages don't cause their Vassals to carry the Baggage; but employ, for that Purpose, certain Oxen call'd *Bers*, which are of a different Kind from those called *Frida* †, these being the common Oxen. These Beasts, whose Flesh is not eaten, will go a prodigious Way in a short Time. I employed twenty, part of them carrying our most considerable Provisions for the Voyage, and the rest our Tents; we, ever since the rainy Season was ended, lying during the Night, in the Fields.

The Inhabitants of this Country, who are partly *Mohammedans* and partly *Christians*, bring Provisions to the Caravans which pass that Way. Being told, that within a Day's Journey of our Road stood a famous Monastery. I was determined to go and see it, and for that Purpose left the great Road; taking with me twenty of the Soldiers, with their commanding Officer, for the greater Security. We were above half a Day in ascending a very steep Mountain, which is quite covered with Trees. Being got to the Summit of it, we found a Cross and the Monastery sought after.

This religious House stands in the Middle of a Forest, in a dreadful Solitude. 'Tis well built, and

* I find a River called *Mareb*, in *Moll*.

† Or *Freda*.

has a very extensive View, we thence discovering the *Red-Sea*, and a vast Extent of Country. In this Monastery are an hundred Friars, who lead a Life of very great Austerity, and are cloathed after the same Manner with those of *Heleni*. Their Cells are so very small, that a Man can scarce lie down at full Length in them. They, like the rest of the Monks of *Ethiopia*, eat no Flesh. They are perpetually fixed in Contemplation on God and holy Things, which is their whole Employment. I there saw a Man of about threescore and six Years of age, who, during seven Years, had subsisted on nothing but the Leaves of the wild Olive-Tree, which extreme Mortification made him spit Blood in a violent Manner. I gave him some Physic, and prescrib'd a Regimen not quite so severe as that he had hitherto observed. He was a very handsome, affable Man, and Brother to the Governor of *Tigra*. The Abbot of the Monastery gave us a most affectionate Reception. The instant we arrived, he washed and kissed our Feet, during which the Friars said certain Prayers. This Ceremony being ended, we proceeded, in Procession, to the Church, the Friars still singing; and then we went into an Apartment, where a Repast was brought us, which was only Bread dipt in Butter, and some Beer, neither Wine nor Mead being drunk in that Convent; nor is any Wine ever used except for the solemnizing Mass. The Abbot was always in our Company, but did not eat with us.

Taking Leave, on the Morrow, of the Abbot and Friars, who did me the Honour to accompany me a great Way; I returned to our Caravan, and pursued my Journey, but did not meet with any Thing remarkable in it. A Week after our setting out from *Duvarna* we arrived at *Arcoova*, a little Town standing on the *Red-Sea*, and which the

the Geographers erroneously call *Arequies* *, where he staid but one Night. On the Morrow we cross'd in a Boat an Arm of the Sea, and went to *Messua* †, a small Island, or rather a barren Rock, on which a Fortrefs stands. It belongs to the Grand Signior, and is the Residence of a Bassa.

This Fortrefs is a very trifling Place; and might easily be taken [by a Man of War well mann'd. During my Stay there, an *English* Ship came and cast Anchor before it, which threw all the People of the Island into the utmost Consternation. They were going to quit it, when the Captain of the Ship put his Long-boat ashore, to assure the Commandant, that he needed not be under any Apprehension from the *English*, they being Friends to the Grand Signior. The Bassa of *Messua* appoints the Governor of *Suaquen* ‡, a Town subject to the *Turkish* Empire, and standing on the *Red-Sea*. Here is the Fishery for Pearls and Tortoises, of which a great Trade is carry'd on, and this is a considerable Addition to the Grand Signior's Revenues. The Bassa of *Messua* shewed me the highest Civilities, at the Recommendation of the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, who is much dreaded in that Country, and with great Reason; since the *Abyssinians* might easily seize upon that Place ||, which they formerly possessed, by starving it out, and refusing Water to the Inhabitants of *Messua*, who are forc'd to fetch all they want from *Arcoova*, there not being any in the Island.

* I suppose, as was before observed, this to be what is called *Erquiko* or *Arquika* in our Maps.

† Or *Matzuma*.

‡ *Saquem*.

|| How much does this differ from what is declared by other Writers, who tell us, that the Grand Signior has quite curb'd the Power of the *Abyssinian* Monarchs. Possibly this may be owing to the Jesuits, who, after they were drove from *Abyssinia*, endeavour'd to make the Emperor of it appear inconsiderable to the *Europeans*.

During my Stay at the *Ethiopian* Court, I was told that the *Dutch* had endeavoured, more than once, to trade with the *Ethiopians*; but whether it be owing to the Difference of their Religions, or that the mighty Power, which the *Dutch* have gained in *India* gave them Umbrage; 'tis certain that the *Ethiopians* don't care to be concerned with them; and I have often heard them say, that they will never put any Confidence in *Christians* who neither fast, invoke the Saints, nor believe in Transubstantiation *.

The *English* likewise are desirous of trading with the *Ethiopians*; and I myself know that one *Agap-pyri*, an *Armenian* Merchant, had agreed to introduce them into this Country, the Trade of which would be advantageous to the *English*; since, besides Gold, Civet, Elephants Teeth, &c. they might draw from *Abyssinia*, Aloes, Myrrh, Cassia, Tamarinds and Coffee, which is not much esteemed by the *Ethiopians*. I was told that Coffee was formerly transplanted from *Abyssinia* into *Yeman*, or *Arabia Felix*, which now supplies it; the *Ethiopians* in this Age, never raising the Plant which produces it, except merely out of Curiosity.

The Plant which produces Coffee †, is very like the Myrtle-Shrub. Its leaves are always Green,
but

* This very possibly may be only a Flourish of our Physicians, as the most approved Writers on *Ethiopia* agree, that the *Abyssinians* don't believe in Transubstantiation; and disclaim most other Points of the *Papish* Doctrine, as Purgatory, Service in an unknown Tongue, Image-Worship, Auricular Confession, Extreme Unction, Celibacy of the Clergy, &c.

† Coffee was first drunk in *England* in 1652. The Coffee-Shrub grows to about the height of eight or ten Foot, and its Bark is Gray. The Twigs rise by Pairs, and the Leaves on the Twigs in the same manner. The Leaves are about four Inches long and two broad, in the middle. They are shaped much like the Bay-leaf. The Fruits hangs to the Twig, sometimes one, two or more in the same Place. The Natives plant these Shrubs in
a rich

but larger, and more tufted. It bears a Fruit like a Pistacho-Nut, having a Husk containing two Berries, and this is what we call Coffee. This Husk is Green at first, but grows Brown as it ripens. Coffee is not put into boiling Water, to prevent its sprouting, as some have asserted; it being taken out of the Husks, and sent away without any farther Preparation.

I was uneasy at the Embassador *Moorat's* Stay, being afraid of losing the Opportunity of the Monsoons. I therefore wrote Word to inform him, that I was resolved to go to *Gedda* *, and wait for him in that Town; to which he answered, I might do as I judged proper, and that he would endeavour to meet me there, in which he had been prevented by the Death of Prince *Basilus*, and the many Difficulties he had met with in the Journey. I then dismissed all my Servants; and rewarded them in so liberal a Manner, as could not but give them an Esteem for the *French* Nation. They all melted into Tears, and would fain have followed me, but I did not think proper to take them any further. This being done, I took leave of the Bassa of *Messua*; and, the 28th of *October*, went on Board a Bark built at *Surat*.

I did not care to trust myself in any of the Ships of the Country, they appearing to me crazy and very unsafe. The Boards, though pitched over, are tied together only with Ropes, that are far from strong, any more than the Sails, which are only of Matts made with the Leaves of the *Domi*. How-

a rich Soil, which is watered by artificial Channels: and as, after three or four Years, the Shrubs begin to decline, new Ones are planted. The Berries are dried in the Sun, and the outward Husks are afterwards taken off by Handmills, which Husks, roasted, the *Arabians* use instead of Coffee-Berries. When the Berries are roasted, the best way of keeping them is in some warm Place, Damps taking off the Briskness of their Flavour.

* *Siden*, or *Judda*.

ever

ever these Vessels, though so badly equipped, and worse steered, carry a considerable Lading; and though there are not above seven or eight Men to manage them, they are of great Service in every Part of this Sea.

Two Days after our leaving *Messoua*, we came to a little Island called *Debelec*. The Ships which come from *India* take in fresh Water and Provisions here, of which there is great Abundance, except Bread, the Inhabitants themselves often wanting it, they subsisting usually on Fish and Flesh. We staid a Week in this Island, on Account of the contrary Winds; but the Instant a favourable Gale sprung up, we sailed to another Island called *Abugafar*, or *Father of Pardon*. The Captain went ashore, and carried a Torch to the Sepulchre of this *Abugafar*. The *Mohammedans* would be afraid of being cast away, were they to omit this Ceremony; and even frequently go out of their Course to visit this pretended Saint. We afterwards sailed, in the high Sea, amidst Shelves and Banks of Sand of which there are great Numbers, and almost upon a level with the Top of the Water, which makes the sailing this way very dangerous; but as the Pilots are very well acquainted with them, they sail through them without being under the least Apprehensions, though this Part of the Sea is filled with them. We arrived, the sixth Day, at *Kotumbul*, a very high Rock standing in the Sea, within half a League of the Continent of *Arabia*. We cast Anchor between the Bank and the Land, and spent the Night there. The next Day we coasted along *Arabia*, and cast Anchor before *Ibrahim Mersa*, or *Abraham's* Anchoring-place. We continued our Course; and after sailing a Week, landed at *Confita* *, a pretty Town, subject to the King of

* I don't meet with this Name, or that of any the Islands above in our Maps.

Mecca, and the first Sea-port in his Dominions, Southward. People are glad to go a-shore here, they paying but one Duty, whereas they are forced to pay two in other Places. There are very fine Warehouses in this City; and there the Goods brought a-shore are stored, after which they are sent by Land on Camels to *Judda*, which is five or six Days Journey from it. We lay at Anchor a Week before *Consita*, expecting a Wind, and in order to rest ourselves. A great Trade is carried on in this City, it being frequented by a vast Number of *Mohammedan* Merchants, *Arabians* and *Indians*: Such *Indians* as are Idolaters are not admitted into it. Provisions are more plentiful and cheaper here than at *Judda*, where we arrived the fifth of *December* 1700. From *Kotumbnl* to *Judda*, we sailed only in the Day-time, and cast Anchor every Night for fear of the Banks of Sand.

Judda or *Siden* is a large City, on the Sea-shore, within half a Days Journey from *Mecca* *. The Port or rather the Road, is safe enough, though the Northwest Wind blows into it. The Bottom is pretty good in certain Places, and there is Depth of Water enough for small Ships, but Ships of a large Burthen are obliged to keep within a League of it. I went a-shore, and took up my Quarters in an *Okel* †, which is composed of four ranges of Houses, three Story high, with a Court in the middle. The lowest Story consists of Warehouses, and the other Stories are for Travellers. There are no other Inns in this Country, nor in *Turkey*: and there are a considerable Number of *Okels* in *Judda*. The Instant a Traveller is arrived,

* 'Tis the Port-Town of *Mecca*, where the Pilgrims usually land, and it belongs to the Grand Signior. The Country round it is very barren. The *Arabians* bring vast Quantities of Coffee hither.

† *Oquel*.

he enquires for Rooms and Warehouses that may suit him; paying, to the Owner, a certain Price, which is ever fixed. I gave four Crowns a Month for two Rooms, a Terrass, and a Kitchen. These *Okels* are as so many Azylums and consecrated Places, where a Traveller needs not fear being insulted or robbed, One great Inconvenience is, the Landlords never provide a single Thing; so that a Lodger is obliged to purchase his own Furniture, and buy and dress all his own Provisions, unless his Servants do this.

Two Days after my Arrival in *Judda*, the King of *Mecca* * came thither with an Army of Twenty Thousand Men †. He caused his Tents to be pitched, and encamped before the Gate of the City which leads to *Mecca*. I saw him. He is about Threescore; of a Majestic Stature, and has an Aspect strikes Terror. The right-side of his lower Lip is divided. He is not applauded either by his Subjects or his Neighbours, for Gentleness or Clemency. He forced the Bassa who commands in *Judda*, by Order of the Grand Signior, to give him

* *Mecca* stands in a Valley, almost surrounded with Mountains. 'Tis twice the Bigness of *Medina*, and the Houses, which are low, are built of Brick. In the Center of the Town stands the *Kaaba*, or House of God, which the *Mohammedans* declare to have been built by *Abraham*. Here Pilgrims perform their Devotions, but are not allowed to enter the *Kaaba*. Though this City is so much rever'd by the *Mohammedans*, it yet has been several Times besieged, plundered and burnt.

† The Inland Parts of *Arabia*, are subject to a great Variety of petty Princes who wander from Place to Place, and encamp wherever they find Pasture, and Water for their Cattle. The Boundaries of these petty Princes can scarce be fixed; but those who govern, near the Sea-Coasts, may be better ascertained. Such *Arabians* as inhabit Towns, are very few in Number compared to those who live in Tents, and rove from Place to Place. The Sovereign of *Mecca* is one of the most powerful Princes in *Arabia*. His Dominions which extend along the Shores of the *Red Sea*, are said to be Two Hundred and Sixty Leagues in Length, and about Fifty in Breadth.

Fifteen Thousand Gold Crowns; threatening to divest him of his Government, in Case he did not comply instantly. He likewise oppressed all such Merchants, Subjects of the Grand Signior, as are settled there for carrying on their Traffic, making them pay Thirty Thousand Gold Crowns. These two Sums he distributed among his Soldiers, who are ever very numerous, by which Means he is ever Master of the Field. Caravans come yearly from *India* and *Turkey*, in Pilgrimage to *Mecca*. Some of them are vastly rich; the Merchants going in these Caravans, for the Conveniency of transporting their *Indian* Goods into *Europe*, and those of *Europe* into *India*. When these Caravans arrive at *Mecca*, a great Fair is held in it, to which resort a numberless multitude of *Mohammedan* Merchants, who bring the most precious Commodities of *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*, which are there bartered. The King of *Mecca* plundered the Caravans of *India* and *Turkey* in 1699, and 1700. This Prince is called *Xerif*, or supremely noble *, because he pretends to be descended from the Prophet *Mohammed*. The Grand Signior used, during a long Course of Years, to give the Investiture of this Kingdom; but the present *Xerif*, who is a very haughty Prince, will not submit to his Authority, but calls him, out of Contempt, *Elon Mamluc*, or *Son of a Slave*.

† *Medina* is the chief City of his Kingdom.

* This *Xerif*, and some others, are also called *Emirs*, both which are said to signify the Sacerdotal and Regal Office, as, before them, (the *Kâlif*) among the *Saracens*.

† The *Arabians* called it *Medina Al-nabi*, or City of the Prophet. It consists of about a Thousand Houses of Brick and Stone. There are many Mosques in this City, the chief whereof is called the most Holy. In a Tower in this Temple stands *Mohammed's* Tomb, which 'tis said the Pilgrims are not permitted to see. The Story of *Mohammed's* Coffin being suspended by a Loadstone is a Fiction. Pilgrims commonly visit this Tomb at their Return from *Mecca*. The Place of this Sepulchre is called by way of eminence, the Meadow or Garden.

'Tis

'Tis famous for being the Seat of *Mohammed's* Tomb, as *Mecca* is for giving Birth to him. The Monarch does not reside much in *Medina*, he being generally at the Head of his Armies. The *Turks*, upon their Arrival at *Medina*, undress themselves out of Respect, keeping on nothing but a Scarf which covers the middle of their Body; and travel in this geer, three or four Leagues. Those who do not care to submit to this, pay a Sum of Money, in order to make a Sacrifice to God, in Honour of *Mohammed*.

The *Christians*, and particularly the *Franks*, cannot settle in *Judda* because of the Neighbourhood of *Mecca*, the *Mohammedans* never permitting them to do it. Nevertheless a great Trade is carried on here; such Ships as return from *India* casting Anchor before it. The Grand Signior commonly keeps Thirty large Ships in these Seas, for the conveying of Merchandize*. These Ships have no Cannon, though they are large enough to carry an hundred. All Things are dear at *Judda*, not excepting Water, because of the vast Resort of such Numbers of different Nations; a Pint of Water, of *Paris* Measure, costing Two-pence or Three-pence †, and that because it is brought four Leagues. The Walls of this Town are very weak; the Fortress which stands towards the Sea, is a little better; but it could not be able to sustain a Siege, though there are some Pieces of Cannon for its Defence. Most of the Houses are of Stone; and the Roofs are so many Terrasses, after the manner of the *Easterns*.

* The *Red Sea* was prodigiously frequented before the Discovery of the Cape of *Good Hope*; but we are told that, of late Years, few Ships go higher than *Mocha*, except the *Turkish* Gallies, and the Vessels which convey the *Mohammedan* Pilgrims to *Mecca*.

† About Three Half-pence, *English* Money.

There was shewn me, on the Sea-shore, within two Musket-shot of the City, a Sepulchre which my Guides declared to be that of *Eve*. The Country round *Judda* is quite disagreeable; nothing being seen but barren Rocks, and uncultivated Places full of Sand. I would gladly have visited *Mecca*, but no *Christian* is permitted to go thither, upon Pain of Death. There is no River between *Judda* and *Mecca*, as some have falsely asserted; there being only a Spring whence the Water drank in *Judda* is drawn.

After staying a Month in this Town, I received Advice that it would be some Time before *Moorat* the Ambassador arrived in it; and also that he would be obliged to stay a Year longer in *Abyssinia*, should he neglect the Opportunity of the Monsoons. For this Reason I resolved to embark in the Ships which were now preparing to sail for *Suez*; and to visit Mount *Sinai*, whither *Moorat* had appointed me to go, in Case he did not come to *Judda*.

Accordingly I embarked, the 12th of *January* 1700, in one of the Ships which the Grand Signior had ordered to be built in *Surat*. Though these Ships are of very great Burthen, they yet have but one Deck *. The Sides are so high, that the tallest Man could not reach up to them. The Ropes of these Ships are very thick and hard, and their Masts and Sails differ but little from ours. One Thing very particular in these Vessels is, a kind of Cisterns, which are so capacious, that they contain Water enough to supply an hundred and fifty Men during five Months. These Cisterns are so well varnished within, that they preserve the Water very pure and clean, and much better than the Hogsheads used in *Europe*. 'Twas with great Difficulty we got from among the Sand-banks which lie about *Judda*, and

* I suppose these are Gallies.

are found in every Part of that Sea; and for this Reason we kept as near as possible to the Shore, which lay on our Starboard-side. We cast Anchor every Evening, for fear of running on one of these Banks, which the Pilots avoid very skilfully. They are seen every where rising to the Surface of the Water; and the Pilots pass boldly through them, which is owing to their great Experience of these Seas from their Infancy; many of them being born on Board these Ships, which may be considered as so many floating Warehouses. After sailing five or six Days, we cast Anchor before the Island of *Hassama*, within two Leagues of the Continent. This Island is not inhabited, but we took in very good Water there. From that Place, to *Suez* Ships drop Anchor every Night near the Shore; on which Occasions the *Arabs* never fail to bring Refreshments.

Twelve or Thirteen Days after our Departure from *Hassama*, we came to the Road of *Yamboe*. This is a pretty large Town, defended by a Castle standing on the Sea-side, the Fortifications whereof are in a very poor Condition *. It belongs to the King of *Mecca*. I did not visit it, because the *Arabs*, who are hovering up and down every where thereabouts, rob Travellers, and abuse such as go ashore. We were stopped a Week in this Road by contrary Winds. Two Days after our leaving *Yamboe*, we cast Anchor between two Sands, where there arose so a furious Storm, that two of our Cables broke, so that we had like to have perished; but, very happily the Storm did not last long.

We went a-shore at *Meeula* †, a Town about the

* It has a tolerable good Harbour, and is now the Port Town to *Medina*. Some say that this Castle is strong enough to resist the Attacks of the *Wild Arabs*, but not to stand a pro-fessed Siege in Form.

† *Mieula*.

same Extent as *Yamboe*, which also has a Castle, but 'tis weak. From thence we sailed to *Cbiurma*, a very good Harbour, where Ships are secured from Storms. Here we meet with no Town or Village, but only Tents inhabited by *Arabs*. We did not arrive at *Cbiurma* till the 22d of *April*, occasioned by the contrary Winds. The Monsoons being far advanced, I thought it would be impossible to proceed any farther by Sea, for which reason I landed at *Cbiurma*, where I procured Camels, which in six Days, carried me to *Tor* *. *Tor* is subject to the Grand Signior. There is a Garrison in the Castle, with an *Aga* who commands in it, and a great Number of *Greek Christians* are found in the Village. They have a Monastery agreeably to their Worship, which is subject to the great one of Mount *Sinai*. I was here told that the Archbishop of the Monastery of Mount *Sinai*, who was paralytic, hearing of my Arrival at *Judda*, had sent to *Tor*, to invite me to go and see him. Accordingly I set out for that famous Monastery; and it was three Days before I reached it; the Roads being vastly troublesome, we were obliged to travel over very steep Mountains. The Monastery of Mount *Sinai* stands at the Foot of the Mountain; and the Gates of that Religious House are always walled up, on Account of the Incursions of the *Arabs*. I was drawn up into it † by Ropes fastened to a Pulley, and my Baggage after the same manner ‡.

* From *Tor*, according to a Tradition of the Natives, may be seen the Place where the *Israelites* went over the *Red Sea*. The Sea, in that Part, is about Five Leagues over; and, in the middle of the Channel about 35 Fathoms deep.

† 'Tis said that Travellers are let up and down in a Basket.

‡ Certain Travellers relate, that the Monks have abandoned this Monastery, on Account of the *Wild Arabs* plundering the Camels which were bringing Provisions to them, and that they retired to *Tor*.

I immediately paid my Compliments to the Archbishop, who is a venerable Man, aged Ninety-three Years. One side of him was struck with the Palsy, a Sight which grieved me very much, I having known him some Years before; and had recovered him at *Grand Cairo*, when labouring under a Fit of Sicknefs. On this Occasion I was so fortunate, as to enable him to celebrate Mass, pontifically, on *Easter Sunday*, which he, till then, had not Strength enough to do for a long Time.

This Monastery is a very solid Building, and its Walls are very strong. The Church is magnificent, it having been raised by the Emperor *Justinian*, as the Friars told me. They are fifty in Number, exclusive of those who go about and ask Alms. They lead a very mortified Life; they never drink Wine, nor eat Meat, even when very Sick. The Water they drink is excellent, it being taken from a Spring rising in the middle of the Monastery. Thrice a Week they are allowed a small Glass of Brandy, made with Dates. They keep a very strict Fast during the four Lents observed in the *Eastern Church*; and, out of those Seasons, they eat Pulse and dried Fish. They rise in the Night to chant the Office, and pass the greatest Part of it in the Choir. They shewed me a Shrine of white Marble, covered with a rich Piece of Cloth of Gold, in which St. *Catharine's* Body is deposited, but unseen. They only shew us one of the Saints Hands, which is quite withered, but the Fingers are still covered with Gold Rings. The Archbishop, who is likewise Abbot of the Monastery, has under him a Prior who has little or no Power, except during the Abbot's Absence *. I had the Curiosity

* 'Tis called St *Catherine's* Monastery, whither the Monks pretend the Body of that Saint was brought, after she had been beheaded in *Alexandria*. The *Greeks* have been in Possession of

riosity to go to the Top of the Mountain, to the Spot where God delivered the two Tables of the Law to *Moses*; the Archbishop being so kind as to send some of his Friars with me.

We went up, Four Thousand Steps at least, before we got to the Top of this famous Mountain, where a good neat Chapel is built. We afterwards had a Sight of that of *Elias* *. We breakfasted at the Spring; and then returned, heartily tired, to the Religious House. The neighbouring Mountain is still higher, but I had not the Courage to go upon it, I being almost spent with the first Day's Journey. 'Tis on this second Mountain that St. *Catherine's* Body is said to have been conveyed by Angels after her Martyrdom.

I waited a Month in this Religious House, in Expectation of the Ambassador *Moorat*. I now be-

of this Monastery above 1400 Years, it being first given them by some of the *Grecian* Emperors. There is a Tradition, that *Mohammed* confirmed the then Abbot and Religious of this House, as well as all their Successors, in the full Enjoyment of it, and the several Lands about it, upon Condition that they should treat all the neighbouring *Arabs* hospitably; which Condition the Monks afterwards complied with exactly; till the *Arabs* plundered the Caravans which were bringing Provisions to the Monastery, on which Occasions the Friars forsook it, and withdrew to *Tor*. This Convent was surrounded by a very thick, strong, high Wall, to secure it from the Attacks of the *Wild Arabs*; and being situated on the Brow of a very steep Rock, the Friars used to let down the Provisions, (which were chiefly Corn) they furnished the *Arabs* with, by a Rope; and as for the Pilgrims, they were taken up, and let down in a Basket. The Ascent from the Foot of the Mountain to *Sinai* is vastly steep.

* In the Way down this Mountain, a great Stone is shewn, which, according to the Monks, is the Place where *Elias* rested himself, after his flying from *Jezebel*. A little below this, the *Mohammedans*, shew the Print made by *Mohammed's* Camel, in the Rock, as he was travelling this Way. This Print they kiss very devoutly. Thus we have a Place where both *Christians* and *Mohammedans* employ their Frauds, in order to impose on the Weak and Superstitious. This Country is said to be vastly pleasant and fruitful, which possibly might be the reason why the Children of *Israel* continued so many Years in it.

gan to be tired, and had given him quite over, when Advice was brought that he was come almost to the Monastery, which gave me the highest Satisfaction. I then went and met him, and presented him to the Archbishop, who received him very graciously. *Moorat* informed me of the several Disappointments he had met with in his Journey. He said that the Death of Prince *Basilus* was the first Thing which retarded him; that the Emperor, notwithstanding his Grief, had admitted him to Audience, and commanded him to set out; and that he made some stay in *Duvarna*, in Expectation of new Orders from his Sovereign. He acquainted me with the ill Treatment he had received from the King of *Mecca*, he having forced from him the *Ethiopian* Children he was carrying into *France*; and, to add to his Misfortune, the Vessel on board of which the Presents were put, had been cast away near *Tor*: That nine large Ships laden with Coffee had stayed in this Port, by their having set sail too late, and losing the Season of the Monsoons. This Delay has made Coffee very dear in *Grand Cairo*, as those Ships were not able to reach *Suez*, where they unlade, and are freighted with other Goods, as Linens, Corn, Rice, and other Provisions, which are brought from *Grand Cairo*, and bartered for those of *India*.

After *Moorat* had rested five Days at Mount *Sinai*, we set forwards towards *Tor*, where his Retinue waited for him. We staid but one Night in this Harbour; and proceeded by Land; on the Morrow for *Suez*; travelling almost continually by the Sea-side. We reached the last mentioned Town in five Days.

Suez is a small City at the bottom of the Gulph of the *Red Sea*; and is the Port to *Cairo*, whence it is distant Three Days Journey. The Town above-mentioned is commanded by a Castle built in the
antient

ancient Taste, and poorly fortified. There is a Governor with a Garrison of two hundred Men; and there are very fine Warehouses*. The Country is no ways agreeable, the only Objects round it being Desarts, interspersed with Rocks and Sands. This Town, like that of *Judda*, has no Water, which is brought from the adjacent Parts, but then 'tis cheaper.

Upon my Arrival at *Tor*, I wrote to Monsieur *Maillet*, the French Consul at *Cairo*, to inform him of the Embassador's Arrival. He wrote me an Answer, by which I was desired to make all the haste possible to *Grand Cairo*. I complied with his Request, and took the Opportunity of the first Caravan that set out, it consisting of about Eight Thousand Camels. I mounted a Dromedary, and after going Three Leagues with the Caravan, I went on before them, and reached *Grand Cairo* in Four and Twenty Hours. These Dromedaries are smaller than Camels. They go very hard, but very swift-footed; and will travel Four and Twenty Hours without halting. and are employed only to carry Men. Being arrived at *Grand Cairo*, I informed our Consul of the result of our Journey; and got ready a fine House for the Embassador, who arrived two Days after.

* *Suez* has no Water near it, by reason that the Plains round are all of Sand. Its Inhabitants subsist wholly by Trade, which is very considerable, as all the Goods which come out of *India* into *Europe*, by the *Red Sea*, are unladed here, and carried from thence to *Grand Cairo* and *Alexandria*. Some imagine *Suez* to be the ancient *Possidium*, and others *Arfinoe*. The Town is a little above the Place where the *Israelites* crossed the *Red Sea*. The Gulph of *Suez* is separated from the *Mediterranean*, by an Isthmus only Fifty Leagues broad, by which *Asia* is joined to *Africa*. Some *Egyptian* Monarchs had formed a Design to cut through this Isthmus, in order to join the two Seas, but to no Purpose. The Town of *Suez* does not now contain above 200 Houses, and has a good Harbour enough, which yet is too Shallow for Ships of Burthen. 'Tis almost a Desart, when foreign Vessels and the *Turkish* Gallies are not there; but when these are lying before it, 'tis full of People.

Monfieur *Maillet*, the Instant he heard he was come, ſent him Refreshments of every kind; and then agreed, in Concert with *Moorat*, that I ſhould embark for *France*, in Order to inform our Court of the ſeveral Particulars related above.

I could ſay much more concerning *Ethiopia*; could treat of the Government of that mighty Empire; of its religious and civil Employments, Courts of Judicature; of the Botany, and even Phyſic of the *Abyſſinians*; but to do this, I muſt firſt enjoy the Repoſe which is earneſtly fought for, by thoſe who undertake long and laborious Travels: And the Air of *France* muſt firſt have reſtored me to my Health, the Sweets of which cannot be taſted, except it be perfect. We Phyſicians, who cure other People, often have not ſkill enough to cure ourſelves.

A
R E L A T I O N
O F T H E

Expedition of the PORTUGUESE into
ABYSSINIA, under Don *Christopher
de Gama*, by *Bermudez*, the Patriarch;
extracted from *Purchas's Pilgrim* *: .
With some preliminary Hints.

THE Portuguese first discovered, by Sea, the
Abyssinian Empire, to which the *Abyssinians*
themselves gave Occasion.

The Empress *Helena*, Grandmother to *David*
Emperor of *Ethiopia*, having been complimented,
in the Name of *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, by two

* The Title in *Purchas* is as follows: *A brief Relation of
the Embassage, which the Patriarch Don John Bermudez, brought
from the Emperor of Ethiopia, vulgarly called Presbyter John,
to the most Christian and zealous of the Faith of Christ, Don
John, the Third of this Name, King of Portugal; dedicated to
the most high and mighty King of Portugal, Don Sebastian, of
most blessed Hope, the last of his Name. In which he relateth also
the Death of Don Christopher of Gama, and the Successes which
happened to the Portuguese that were in his Company. This Piece
(dedicated to King Sebastian) is inserted in Vol. II. Book VII.
Chap. VII. pag. 1149, & seq. of Purchas's Pilgrim. Mr. la
Croze, who has inserted a Version of this whole Relation, in
his Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie, &c. justly sets a very
high Value upon it, and informs us that he wrote to Lis-
bon for the Original, but could not procure it, so was obliged to
content himself with translating Purchas.*

Gentlemen deputed to her by that Monarch, was determined to send an Embassador into *Portugal*, to settle a strict Alliance between the two Crowns. The Embassador employed for this Purpose was an *Armenian* Merchant, named *Matthew*, who, going to *Lisbon*, returned to *India* on board the *Portuguese* Fleet.

He was accompanied by an Embassador from *Portugal*, a Man of Quality, *Edward Galvam* by Name, who arriving at the *Red-Sea*, died in an Island of it called *Camaran*; so that the *Portuguese* Ships, which had brought *Galvam*, were obliged to return to *Goa*.

But as this seemed an Affair of Importance, some Years after *Rodriguez de Lima*, a *Portuguese* Gentleman, was appointed Embassador, and his Voyage was very long and laborious. *Rodriguez* went first to the Island of *Matzuma* in the *Red-Sea*, not far from *Arquico*; which two Places then belonged to the *Abyssinian* Emperor, as well as the Island of *Saquem*. The *Turks* who took them afterwards, possess them at this Day.

The Chaplain to the Embassy was, *Francis Alvarez*, Almoner in ordinary to his *Portuguese* Majesty. To this Almoner, a Man of great Simplicity, but seeming Sincerity, we are obliged for the first Accounts of the *Abyssinian* Empire; he publishing in *Lisbon*, 1540, a Relation of it, with that of his Voyage. This first Edition printed in *Gothic* Letters, was followed by many others, which are generally esteemed by all the Learned. *Rodriguez* of *Lima*, not meeting with Ships to convey him to *Goa*, was obliged to stay six Years in *Ethiopia*.

The Emperor who then swayed the Scepter was called *David*. He received *Rodriguez* very joyfully; and employed him to establish an offensive and defensive Alliance with the King of *Portugal*, in order to drive the *Turks*, and the rest of the *Mohamedans*,

medans, from all the Strong Holds possessed by them on the *Red Sea*. 'Twas very difficult to keep an Enterprize like this Secret for any Time. The *Mohammédans* were alarmed, particularly the King of *Adel* or *Zeila*, a Monarch whose Territories lay nearest to those of the *Abyssinian* Emperor.

Upon this the King of *Adel* began to establish Intelligences, and to levy Forces to prevent the *Portuguese* from joining with the *Abyssinians*. He sent a valiant Captain into *Ethiopia*, to attempt the Conquest of that Empire. This Captain, whose Name was *Abmed*, and surnam'd *Gragna* or *Goronba*, Visier to the King of *Adel*, (not King of that Country, as *Purchas* supposes) fought several Battles with the Forces of the Emperor *David*, whom he at last obliged to retire, with few Troops, to solitary, inaccessible Mountains. The *Abyssinian* Empire would have been totally ruined, had not the Emperor *David* craved Assistance of the *Portuguese*, then very powerful in *India*. Accordingly they sent him Forces, which gave Occasion to the famous Expedition, an Account whereof was writ by *John Bermudez*, Latin Patriarch in *Ethiopia*, who was a Spectator of all those Transactions. This *Bermudez* was a Native of *Galicia* in *Spain*, according to *Nicholas Antonio*, pag. 500, and consequently *Abbé Renaudot* is mistaken, in calling him an *Ethiopian*. *Bermudez* went into *Ethiopia*, in 1520, with *Rodriguez de Lima*, Embassador from the King of *Portugal*, and the Viceroy of *India*. When the *Ethiopian* Emperor dismissed *Rodriguez*, and his Retinue, he desired that *Bermudez* and a Painter might continue in his Country. 'Tis the Translation of this Expedition, which *Purchas* has given in his *Pilgrims*: And *Tellez*, speaking of it, in his *General History of Ethiopia*, gives the following Character of it. " *Bermudez* the Patriarch, wrote a little Book on the Affairs of *Ethiopia*, published in 1565, and dedicated

“ dicated to King *Sebastian*. Our Fathers (the Jesuits) who have been in *Ethiopia*, declare that he may be credited with Regard to such Particulars as he himself saw; but that it is otherwise with Respect to such Things as he knew only by “ hear-say.”

If I may be allowed to give my own Opinion: This Account of *Bermudez*, so far as it relates to the Expedition, seems drawn up with great Simplicity and Truth; but many other Parts of it abound with the marvellous, of which I shall give some Specimens hereunder.

Here follows an Abstract of it, extracted from *Bermudez's* Narrative, inserted in *Purchas's Pilgrim*, now before me.

The Emperor (says *Bermudez*) who reigned in *Ethiopia*, Anno 1525, was named *Onadinguel*. The Patriarch dying, *Onadinguel* nominated me his Successor, a Dignity I would not accept of, but upon Condition that it should be confirmed by the See of *Rome*. At the Monarch's Desire, I went to *Rome* to pay Obedience to the Holy Father; who ratified all my Titles; appointed me Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and Bishop of the See of *Ethiopia*. I then went to *Portugal*, to conclude the Embassy which the Emperor had sent thither by one of his Subjects, *Tzaga-za-abas* by Name *, with whom Father *Alvarez* returned to *Europe*. I met with a gracious Reception from his *Portuguese* Majesty in *Evora*, and then seized *Tzaga-za-abas* by the Emperor's Orders. The Subject of the Embassy sent by *Onadinguel*, was to request a perpetual Friendship between the two Monarchs, for which Purpose there should be Intermariages between them; and likewise to desire some *Portuguese* Succours, against the Emperor's Enemy, the King of *Zeila*.

* His Name is falsely given by *Purchas*.

The King of *Portugal* ordered me a Body of Men, when having got my Dispatches, I embarked, and arrived at *Goa*, where I was received with great Honours, and acknowledged a Patriarch.

The Viceroy, *Don Stephen de Gama*, commanding a considerable Fleet to be fitted out, with a select Body of Forces on Board, we all set sail and arrived at *Matzuma*, a Port in the *Red Sea*, where, to our great Sorrow, we heard that the Emperor *Onadinguel* was dead.

We afterwards were told, that the Empire was then possessed by the Queen and one of her Sons, who opposed the Enemy to the best of their Power. I then, at the desire of *Don Stephen de Gama* the Viceroy, deputed an Officer to them; during which the Viceroy himself, who was a very brave Man, endeavoured, but in vain, to set Fire to the *Turkish* Gallies at *Suez*; but, during the Absence of the Viceroy, one of the Captain's of the King of *Zeila*, cut to Pieces sixty of our Men, and another of his Captains or *Bernagaiz's*, * defrauded the *Portuguese* of a Thousand Webs (Pieces I suppose) of Cotton. However, we afterwards over-reached this *Bernagaiz*, by pretending Amity; when landing six hundred Men in the Night, we seized on all the Posts by which the Enemy might escape, and kill'd some *Turks*, with the *Bernagaiz*, and sent his Head to the Queen, for which she returned us great Thanks.

As it was now supposed, that the Enterprize would be more profitable and glorious than had at first been imagined, many other Persons offered to engage in it; and particularly *Don Christopher de Gama*, the Viceroy's Brother, desired to head it. The Viceroy then ordered me four hundred Soldiers. Among these were several Persons of Distinction, whole

* *Bernagaiz*, signifies King of the Sea, or he who commands over the Maritime Provinces.

Domesticks increased our Army, and were afterwards of signal Service.

As we were going to set out, a Christian *Bernagaiz* brought us a great Quantity of Refreshments of every Kind, after which, *Don Stephen* the Viceroy, and the Nobility in his Train, went to *Arquico*, where they embarked for *India*, and left us ashore. We now set out on our March, and in three Days reached *Debaroa*. Here our *Portuguese* were scandalized, seeing the *Abyssinians* practise their religious Ceremonies, but I pacified them as well as I could. I then sent a Message to the Queen, who was coming to us with all the Diligence possible. We went and met her out of the City, our Army being drawn up after the *European* manner, which Sight surprized and pleased her exceedingly. She then asked my Blessing, and gave *Don Christopher de Gama* a most gracious Reception, thanking him for his Kindness in coming to her Assistance. On the Morrow we all heard Mass together, when we implored Heaven to give Success to our Arms.

Marching from *Debaroa*, during several Days, we at last came into a very agreeable Plain, where finding a Spring of clear Water, we pitched our Camp round it. The next Day came an Express from *Goronba*, or *Abmed*, Visier to the King of *Adel*, accompanied by several Persons, who desired to speak with our General. Coming before him, he asked who he was; offering *Don Christopher*, provided he would turn *Mohammedan*, vast Riches, with a great number of beautiful Women; and in case of his Refusal, he commanded him to leave the Country, which he declared was his. *Don Christopher* replied, that he was a Captain of the King of *Portugal*, who had sent him to restore *Prester* to *John* his Kingdoms, which he, (the King of *Adel*,) had unjustly usurp'd: And, to shew the Contempt in which he held him, he sent him back a Looking-glass,

glafs, a Pair of Tongs for the Beard, and a Silver Egg; but gave the Messenger some very valuable Presents, as two Bracelets of Gold, rich Garments, &c.

Upon this, *Goronba* raised his Camp, and march'd towards us, at the Head of about a thousand Horse, five thousand Foot, fifty *Turkish* Fusileers, and the like number of Archers. *Don Christopher* placed the Queen, and her Retinue, with the Baggage, in the Centre of his Army. The Queen was then seized with a Panick; however, we wounded *Goronba*, and *Don Christopher* was himself hurt in the Leg. The *Moors* seeing their Commander wounded, retired and followed him; *Goronba* posted himself on a neighbouring Mountain, where he got his Wound dressed.

Here a Renegado, first Cousin to the *Bernagaiz*, came and submitted to us, promising to bring Cattle, and Provisions of every Kind, and was afterwards as good as his Word. By this Time *Don Christopher's* Wound was cured, but we now were almost famished, so that I permitted them, tho' it was Lent, to kill and eat all the Cattle in their Camp. Immediately after, *Goronba* advanced with a greater Body of Forces than before, and sent a Message to *Don Christopher* to bid him be ready, which frightened the Queen and her two Sisters, so that they besought me to fly. I complied with their Fears; but *Don Christopher* sending after us, I obliged the Queen to return back, spite of her abundant Tears. I then gave her my Blessing, and absolved her from all her Sins.

At Day-Break the two Armies engaged very vigorously, when our Artillery, and the Powder we had artfully set fire to under the *Mohammedans*, made a prodigious Slaughter of them. The Queen, who stood near me, and always held a Cross in her Hand, wept incessantly, and cried, "O Father! What
" have

“ have you got by bringing me hither? Why did
 “ not you let me go”? I replied, “ Madam, be
 “ not grieved; recommend yourself to Heaven;
 “ open your Eyes, and behold the great Slaughter
 “ made of your Enemies”.

Goronba then told his People, that the *Portugueze* were not Men, but Devils; immediately after which, he retired on the other Side of the Hill, and left us the Field of Battle. We pursued the Enemy, but to no Purpose, they flying with amazing Speed. Here a great Number of *Abyssinians* came and joined us, which pleased the Queen no less than the Victory had done. The abandoned Camp of the Enemies furnished us with vast Riches, and a great quantity of Provisions.

We then marched after *Goronba*, and came into a Plain, at the Foot of one of the Mountains, to which he was retired. In the mean Time the *Moor* had sent to desire Succours from the *Bassa* of *Zebid*, promising to reward him amply. We then retired to a Mountain surrounded on all Sides with Rocks, on the Summit of which was a Plain. There we encamp'd, and thence sent for Provisions, which were immediately brought us; and our wounded Men were soon cured. During this Interval, *Don Christopher* had march'd to a neighbouring Mountain, inhabited by *Jews*, and defended by a *Moorish* Captain, and an hundred and fifty Horse. *Don Christopher* fought them, cut several of them to Pieces; and the *Moorish* Captain's Wife, a Lady of exquisite Beauty, being taken Prisoner, *Don Christopher* kept her for himself, which raised the Jealousy of two *Portugueze* Officers, whom the General broke merely on that Account.

During *Don Christopher's* Absence, *Goronba* advanced towards us with 600 *Turks*, whom the *Bassa* had sent him; he having likewise two hundred *Moorish* Cavalry, and a great number of Foot. He
 came

came and encamped at the Foot of our Fountain, and sent a Man with a Cargo of Looking-glasses, Beads, and such like Things, to our Camp, with a Message to *Don Christopher*, who was absent; after which the *Turks* entered our Camp, and did us considerable Damage. We now sent for our General, who coming, and a Council of War being called, it was proposed to attack the *Moors* or *Turks* in the Night, which *Don Christopher* would not consent to.

At Day-Break we all march'd down the Mountains, when the Battle begun in a very tumultuous Manner, great Numbers being killed on both Sides, and among the rest *Don Garcias de Noronha*, Standard-bearer to our General, who defended the royal Standard with the utmost Bravery. Our General received a Musket-shot in the Arm, notwithstanding which, he did not quit the Field of Battle till the last Extremity; but being forced to it, he retired to a Mountain, with the few who had continued with him. I desired the Queen to go to the Mountain also; but as she did not care to abandon some of her Ladies, who had no Vehicles of any Kind, I forced her and her Sisters-in-law, to go on before; and took up the Princess, her little Daughter, on Horseback behind me.

A Nurse belonging to the Queen, a Woman of great Virtue, who was accompanied by two of her Daughters, and other Women, laid hold on a Barrel of Gunpowder, when saying, "God forbid that we should fall into the Hands of our Enemies", she set Fire to it in the Middle of her Tent; and thus herself, and her whole Retinue, perished instantly. Fifty or threescore others, who had escaped from the Battle grievously wounded, and were unable to secure themselves, put an End to their Lives after the same manner. Advancing still farther on the Mountain, we stopt, in order to give our flying Soldiers an Opportunity of joining us,

and particularly *Don Christopher*, whom at last we saw coming forward, wounded in the Arm, as was observed above. I dressed his Wound, at the Queen's Desire, with some Balm she gave me; and then taking the Veil from her Head, she tore it, and tied up the Wound with it. *Don Christopher* was inconsolable for our Loss; and particularly because the Enemy had got Possession of the royal Standard, on which Occasion I did all that lay in my Power to comfort him.

At last we obliged *Don Christopher* to get on Horseback, and then set out upon our March, and came to a River, over which was a Draw-bridge. Here *Don Christopher* declared that he would go no farther. He then called for his Domestics, who making a Bed for him, laid him upon it. He desired me to confess him, and declared he would stay in that Place. I would have forced him from it, but he declaring that he would kill himself, if I opposed his Will any longer, I let him continue there; leaving with him, at his own Request, his Valet-de-chambre, his Secretary, and three *Portuguese* Attendants. I could never find the Reason of his taking this Resolution *.

'Twas with great Difficulty that I prevail'd with the Queen to go forward, she discovering the utmost Reluctance at leaving *Don Christopher*, but we heard the Enemy at our Heels. This was in the Night. At Day-Break we saw several *Moors* about the Place where *Don Christopher* had retired. After travelling some Time, we at last got out of the Enemy's reach.

We had lost forty *Portuguese*, and there remain'd about three hundred, over whom I appointed as General, *Alphonso Caldeyra*, a Native of *Coimbra*, a Gentleman of great Prudence and Bravery. And

* Methinks the Reason is plain enough, viz. his great Discontent for the unexpected ill Success of the *Portuguese*.

now two of the Gentlemen who had staid behind with *Don Christopher* came, and told us the following Particulars: That whilst they were hid in the Grove, a Woman, pursued by *Moors*, fled to it; when all of them coming into it, the *Moors* asked who he was, and he told them: that afterwards carrying him to *Goronba*, this latter advised him to turn *Mohamedan*, promising him mighty Things, which *Don Christopher* refusing with Indignation, *Goronba* commanded some of his People to strike him in the Face, and pull out the Hairs of his Beard. He afterwards forced *Don Christopher* to write to his Soldiers, to persuade them to come over to the *Moors*; but the latter made a private Mark, to shew that what he then writ was extorted from him. To this Letter, the new General of the *Portuguese*, *Alphonso Caldeyra*, sent a very sharp Answer, which yet did not exasperate *Goronba* against *Don Christopher*. *Goronba* afterwards employing *Don Christopher*, who pretended to possess an excellent Secret for healing Wounds, to cure his Captain-general, the latter killed him, at which *Goronba* was so much enraged, that he caused *Don Christopher* to be beheaded. He sent his Head to the *Bassa* of *Grand Cairo*, and his Quarters to other Places.

Goronba afterwards crossed the Kingdom of *Dam-bea*, and we received a Reinforcement of an hundred and fifty Horse, and a thousand Foot. These were the Subjects of the Emperor *Gradeus*, or *Claudius*, and had deserted from *Goronba's* Camp. We then retired to the Mountain of the *Jews*, the Captain of which, with his whole Family, were admitted to Baptism. *Don Alphonso Caldeyra*, our General, marched afterwards with ninety Men, and made great Havock in some Villages belonging to the Infidels. About two Months and a half after, we marched to other Mountains, whither *Claudius* came to us with fifty Horsemen, and many others

mounted on Mules. All the Captains went out to meet the Emperor, when bringing him to my Tent, I gave him my Blessing, for which he seemed very thankful. His Tent was pitched in the Centre of our Camp.

Some Days after, I assembled the chief Officers, and desired that none might be scandalized at the Difference in Ceremonies, between the *Ethiopians* and us; and that if we could but bring over the Emperor to acknowledge the Pope, as Head of the Church, his Subjects would follow his Example. I then went to the Monarch's Tent, where the Queen his Mother was at that Time, when I exhorted him to pay Obedience to the *Roman Pontiff*. The Emperor, like a heedless Youth who does not know what he says, replied thus, "You are neither my Father * nor my Patriarch. You are Patriarch of the *Franks*, and an *Arian*; you worshipping four Gods. I'll never call you Father more". I answered, that he told a Lie; that I was not an *Arian*; and did not worship four Gods: That as he refused to obey the Pope, I looked upon him as excommunicated and cursed; and, for that Reason, would never speak to him again. Saying this, I rose, in order to go away, when he told me, that 'twas I who was excommunicated, and not he.

I then went to the *Portuguese*, who stood without the Tent, when telling them all that had pass'd, I declared that he was an Heretic, and therefore commanded them to abandon him, which they all did accordingly.

A little after, the Emperor sent the *Portuguese* three thousand Ounces of Gold, and other Presents, desiring to be reconciled to them; but they refused to take it, unless he was reconciled to me. The Queen afterwards came to my Tent, with an Archbishop, whom I had consecrated, when falling upon

* *Bermudez* was his God-Father.

her Knees, and conjuring me with Tears to be reconciled to her Son, I at last was prevailed with; upon which, going with her to the Monarch's Tent, he receiv'd me with great Humanity; when he, the Queen, and I, sitting on the Ground, I obliged him, after a long Conference, to sign and seal an Instrument, declaring his Obedience to the Holy See, which was afterwards solemnly read aloud before the whole People, Trumpets sounding all the Time. Not long after *Alphonso Caldeyra* dying by a Fall from his Horse, *Arias Diz* was elected General in his stead.

Some Days after I received a Message from the Monarch, who desired me to send him *Arias Diz*, our General, with all the *Portugueze*, in order to go upon an Expedition which related to the Service of God; accordingly I sent them. As there remained with me about seventeen hundred and fifty *Abyssinians*, I marched them to the Frontiers of the Mountain where *Goronka* was posted. Going afterwards on the Mountain, they seized upon a neighbouring Town, in which they found only a few Provisions, with some Mead that had been poisoned, of which two of our Soldiers drinking, died suddenly.

I then sent for *Arias Diz* and the Monarch, desiring them to march up immediately to me. *Claudius* was afraid at first; but being reproached by *Arias Diz*, they all marched and joined us in a Day or two. And now all (those who were fatigued excepted) advanced forward up the Mountain, in order to seize, before the Enemy, upon a Post of very great Importance. Being arrived at the Summit, we found a Monastery dedicated to *St. Paul*, the Friars whereof receiv'd us in solemn Procession, after which we pitched our Camp. The Soldiers went to Prayers, and besought Heaven to give us the Victory; and then great Numbers of People, from all the adjacent Provinces, came and joined

us. In the mean Time we could perceive, from our Mountain, *Goronba's Moors*, exercising in the Plains behind us, and could hear them cry as follows: "Before four Days are ended, you shall all be cut to Pieces. Your King shall be made an Eunuch, and appointed one of the Guards of the King of *Zeila's* Seraglio; and the Patriarch who brought you hither shall be impaled alive."

The General of the *Abyssinians* going out to skirmish with the *Moors*, advancing too forward, was taken by them and killed, after cutting off his privy Parts, as is the Custom of that People, at which the Monarch was surprizingly afflicted; and Advice being brought that *Goronba* was come, and had encamped at the Foot of the Mountain, *Claudius* was so greatly terrified, that he resolved to fly.

This News being brought me to the Monastery, and the *Bernagaiz* shewing me a large Body of armed *Abyssinians*, who were in doubt which Party to join, I went to *Claudius*, and besought him to rely on the Mercy of God, who had redeemed us with his Blood, and would certainly give us the Victory. I then went and made a Speech to the *Portuguezs*, beseeching them to trust in God, and behave as became their Name. We now descended the Mountain, when *Claudius* and his Troops being surprized at our Resolution, halted on an Eminence, and *Goronba* and his Forces advanced to meet us. *Goronba* being mounted on a white Horse, and armed Cap-a-pee, a Domestick of *Don Christopher*, to revenge the former Death of his Master, came forward, and shot him dead; which intimidating his Troops greatly, we soon got the better of them; and *Claudius* descending with his Troops into the Plain, the *Turks* and *Moors* quitted the Field of Battle. We now met with very rich Plunder, Provisions, Artillery and other Arms. *Goronba's* Son was taken Prisoner, and his Queen fled into the Province of *Dagua*.
Our

Our Soldiers marched a considerable Way into the Province of *Dambea*, whence they brought Commodities of great Value. *Claudius* gave Orders for building a magnificent Monastery, on the Spot where this miraculous Victory had been obtained. An *Abyssinian* would fain have usurped the Glory of killing *Goronba*, but the Contrary was proved to his Shame.

We staid two Months in this Place, during which *Claudius* sent Advice of it to the Queen his Mother, who was at a League Distance from us, and afterwards came to our Camp. Some Days after *Claudius* marched forth, in order to recover certain Provinces, of which the King of *Zeila* had dispossessed him, during which he left the Queen with me. Whilst the Army continued in this Place, the King of *Aden*, or *Adel*, sent a Message to *Claudius*, to tell him that he must not fancy that the King of *Aden* was dead, he being his Successor, and would soon be with him. The Army then marched to a great River, which they passed in the Night, within half a League of the Enemy's Camp. We then marched up, and killed a great number of their Men, among whom was the King of *Aden*. *Claudius* was wounded, and in danger of losing his Life. We lost several Soldiers; but the Infidels seeing their Monarch dead, fled, and being pursued by the *Portuguese*, a great Slaughter was made of them. *Claudius* would accept, as his Share of the Plunder, of nothing but the King of *Aden*'s Sword and Lance, he bestowing all the rest of the rich Plunder on the *Portuguese*, who had won it. The King of *Aden*'s Queen being taken Prisoner, *Claudius* offered to marry her, upon Condition that she should turn *Christian*, to *Arias Diz*, to whom he gave the Kingdoms of *Doror* and *Bala*, which had belonged to the Queen, he reserving to himself the Kingdom of *Oygere* only.

Claudius having thus recovered his Kingdoms, and possessing them in Peace, I flattered myself that he would solemnly ratify the Obedience he had promised to the supreme Pontiff, and establish a perfect Conformity between the Churches of *Rome* and *Ethiopia*; but as he had not been sincere on that Occasion, he soon forgot his Promise, and acted in direct Opposition to it; going afterwards to the Monarch's Tent, I met with a very cold Reception; and three *Portugueze* Gentlemen coming up to me, whispered, and bid me beware of *Arias Diz*, declaring that he was a Traitor, at which I was prodigiously surprized. I afterwards heard *Claudius* speak thus to *Arias Diz*, "Mark, my General, " carry no longer the King of *Portugal*'s Standard " in my Kingdom; leave it there, and take up " mine". *Arias Diz* refusing this, *Claudius* would have forced one of his Pages to seize it, but was prevented by a *Portugueze*, who wounded the Page in the Head.

I then withdrew to my Quarters, whither I was followed by all the *Portuguese*. *Arias Diz* then blaming me for exasperating *Claudius*, several *Portuguese* Gentlemen rose, and said, that he was a Traitor to the King of *Portugal*, and consequently could no longer be our Captain. He replied that he had infinite obligations to *Claudius*, and therefore was his Captain, and not that of the King of *Portugal*. As I afterwards reproached him with causing himself to be baptized *Mark*, pursuant to the Ritual of the *Alexandrian* Heretics, he retired with a sorrowful Countenance to his Quarters, followed only by a few *Portuguese*.

Claudius sending for me next Day, I went to his Tent, where I met with a most ungracious Reception, the Monarch neither rising, nor asking my Blessing as before. I then told him, that he was not only ungrateful with Regard to the King of *Portugal*;

Portugal; but likewise that he violated in my Person the Respect which he owed to *Christ Jesus*, whom I represented. I thereupon told him, that in case he returned to the Heresy of the *Jacobites*, &c. he would be rejected, cursed, and excommunicated. He replied, that we were Heretics, because we worshipped four Gods; and added, that had I not been his spiritual Father [his Godfather] he would have ordered me to be quartered. Hearing this, I returned to my Tent, where many *Portugueze* waited for me, whom I informed of all that had passed.

Whilst I was in the Camp with the *Portugueze*, *Claudius* sent a Message, ordering me not to cause any Change; and declaring that the *Portugueze* were all under the Command of *Mark [Arias Diz]* his General: But I replied, that the *Portuguese* refused to fight under a Traitor and a Heretic, and resolved to return to their Native Country: To which *Claudius* sent Answer, that we could not quit it without his Consent. We then separated, and I exhorted the *Portuguese* to behave gallantly.

There were three Entrances to our Camp, and these we fortified, laying Pots of Gun-powder which afterwards annoyed the Enemy greatly. Our Cavalry advancing towards *Claudius's* Camp at Midnight, terrified the *Abyssinians* to such a Degree that they fled. On the morrow *Claudius* prepared to attack us, when advancing up the Avenues, the Powder-pots were fired, which slew great Number of the *Abyssinians*, so that they all retired; which the Monarch perceiving, he with Grief tore his Garments. The Monarch sending for *Arias Diz*, told him, that as he could not overcome us by Force, they must have Recourse to Artifice.

This being agreed, *Claudius* sent us Word that he was sorry for whatever had passed, and was determined to submit to my Will in all Things. We replied, that if he would do this, we would serve him

him as our Lord and Father. Here the Traytor *Arias Diz*, advised *Claudius* two Things; first to forbid his Subjects furnishing us with any Provisions; and secondly, to promise us the noblest Rewards.

Immediately the Monarch sent a large Sum of Money to the *Portuguese* Soldiers, and a great Number of Oxen, Sheep, and other Provisions to me; promising farther to comply with all my Desires. The *Bernagaiz Isaac* promised likewise to assist us to the utmost of his Power. We then went towards *Claudius's* Tent, being met by *Mark* [*Arias Diz*] whom I requested to live at Peace with my People, which he promised. *Claudius*, and all the People in general, seemed overjoyed at this Reconciliation.

A little after five *Portuguese* Gentlemen came and told me, that they were going to be sent separately into Banishment, a Counsel that was wholly owing to the Traytor *Mark*. I then went to the Noblemen whose Prisoners they were to be, and begg'd him to treat them kindly, which they solemnly promised, though they had been ordered to throw them into Chains, as Slaves. I then hastened to the Monarch, when asking him why he treated my Brethren in this manner, he replied, that as he was going to make War against the *Gallas*, or *Galles*, it was necessary the *Portuguese* in question should be away, to prevent their making a Mutiny; and that I myself should be sent among the *Gaffates*, and be handsomely supported; he having appointed the Revenues thereof, to be paid me for that Purpose; and that all imaginable Honour should be shewn me. *Mark* coming up to *Claudius*, and saying: Sir, be so good as to send for the Patriarch from *Alexandria*: "The Monarch, replied; Blessed be God
" (*Mark* my dear Friend;) the Thing is done."

I then was ordered to be put in Possession of the Country of the *Gaffates*, who were commanded to recognize

recognize me as their Lord; I was allowed to take with me all my Domestics, whether Freedmen or Slaves. I arrived after taking leave of *Claudius*, in a Week, in this Country; having in my Retinue, an *Abyssinian* who had been in *Portugal*, and whom I appointed Steward of my Household. The Country of the *Gaffates*, is situated in the midst of several very high, steep Mountains, and the Inhabitants are quite barbarous: We then descended into a deep Valley, where the Captain who conducted me, calling the Inhabitants together, ordered them to receive me as their Lord, but not permit me to leave that Place, and go to Court. They promised to obey all his Orders.

I lived seven Months in this Country, during which the King marched against the *Galles*, but with very ill Success. A little after *Mark* died, and was interred by *Claudius's* Order, with great Solemnity, his Body being deposited in the Church where the Kings are buried. The Monarch and all his Court were exceedingly afflicted at his Death. Hearing this I resolved to go to Court, and for that Purpose, caused the Captain who guarded us to be bound; when ordering my Gunner to discharge some Field-Pieces close by him, the poor Captain was in such Terror, that he promised never to molest me more, provided I would release him, which I accordingly did. I afterwards caused all my Field-Pieces, being Ten or Twelve in Number, to be fired, which echoed like Thunder among the Mountains, and killed two Men. The Inhabitants were so much dismayed, that they all fled, and the Captain sent me Word, that I might go whithersoever I pleased.

We march'd out of these Mountains with all possible haste; and, two Days before our Arrival at the King's Camp, I met with a *Portuguese* on whom *Claudius* had bestowed some Lands (as he had done
on

on all the *Portuguese*) which he was come to view. He told me that *Claudius*, after *Mark's* Death, had appointed *James de Figueredo* to be General of the *Portuguese*, who dying soon after, he had nominated two Generals, *Gaspar de Sofa*, and *Lopez d'Almanza*, each of whom was to command the Squadrons, which were to guard the Monarch; but afterwards the former (who was my Nephew and Friend) was appointed sole Commander. *Claudius* sent me a very civil Message, with an Equipage and five hundred Ounces of Gold. The *Portuguese* seemed overjoyed at my Arrival; but the Monarch's Complaisance was all a Feint, he expecting daily the new Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and was unwilling we should meet, lest this should occasion some Disturbance.

After *Claudius* was gone, *Robel* a Soldier of Distinction, came and told me privately, that the Emperor was highly exasperated, because I had obliged him to pay Obedience to the See of *Rome*, and that as another Patriarch was coming, it would be proper for me to take Care of myself. I thanked him, and told him it was absolutely necessary for me to go to Court, whereof I soon sent Advice to *Gaspar de Sofa*, desiring his Assistance, a little before which *Robel* and I parted.

Just as I was coming to the Monarch's Camp, a *Portuguese* came and declared, that *Claudius* had ordered me to be seized, and carried upon a Rock, where I should end my Days. Accordingly I was seized, when all the *Portuguese* ran to rescue me. The Monarch afterwards blamed *Gaspar de Sofa* for setting me at Liberty, when the latter justified what he done, and accused the King of Ingratitude; whereupon *Claudius* sent for me to his Tent, on which Occasion he was so very profuse of his Caresses, that I was quite nauseated with them. I afterwards at his Request, promised not leave the
Portuguese,

Portuguese, nor to quit the Empire without his Permission. He then gave me Lands, the Annual Revenue of which amounted to twenty thousand *Cruzadoes*; ordering that the Patriarch *Joseph*, whom he had sent for from *Alexandria*, should be his Prelate, and that I should be the Prelate of the *Portuguese* only; and farther that my Archdeacon, and all my other Officers, should thenceforward serve the Patriarch *Joseph*.

Claudius, in order that *Joseph* might take Possession, peaceably, of his Patriarchate, settled me and the rest of the *Portuguese*, in Provinces which were farthest distant from that wherein he chiefly resided. In the mean Time he sent the *Portuguese* into the Province of *Doaro*, on the Frontiers of the *Galles* his Enemies, where they were to be in Garrison. This disgusted *Calide*, who commanded in those Parts; and hereupon he raised an Army of seven thousand Horse, six thousand Foot, and six hundred Archers. *Calide* marching at the Head of all these Forces, they were afraid to attack us, upon which the *Portuguese* watching their Opportunity, seven of our Fusileers shot at *Calide*, and kill'd him before the Battle began; which terrified his Troops to such a Degree, that Part of them submitted, and the rest fled. *Claudius* was overjoyed at this Victory, he being very much afraid of *Calide*, who was his Relation, and next Heir to the Crown.

After the Death of the *Calide* of *Doaro*, we enjoyed four Months Peace; but now *Claudius* sent Advice, that the *Gallas* were advancing towards us to attack us, and therefore that it would be proper for us to stand upon our Guard. These *Gallas* are a very savage and cruel People. Accordingly we prepared for our Defence; and as our Fire-Arms were our greatest Strength, we made great Quantities of Gunpowder, this Country abounding with

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Brim-

Brimstone and Salt-Petre. We afterwards sent away all Persons who were not able to fight.

The Enemy appeared, and in incredible Numbers; after which they advanced towards us in great Order, to above the Distance of Cannon-Shot. We were then not above an hundred and fifty in Number, and therefore not being numerous enough to march and attack them, we waited for their Arrival in our Camp, this being pitched on an Eminence, which commanded the adjacent Places. Here we defended ourselves ten or twelve Days, expecting the Arrival of *Claudius*, during which we annoyed the *Gallas* exceedingly.

The Monarch not coming, and being in want of Powder, we raised our Camp, and marched out in search of him, the *Gallas* not daring to follow us. *Claudius* coming, and hearing that the *Gallas* had seized upon the Country, wept like a Child. He indeed had lost three considerable Kingdoms, those of *Bala*, *Doaro*, and *Hadia*. Some *Portuguese* besought him to be comforted, declaring that all his Misfortunes were owing to his Disputes with me, who was his only lawful Patriarch. He made no Reply, but raised his Camp, and ordered us to follow him, he being determined to visit certain Provinces of his Empire which he had not yet seen.

We marched seven or eight Days to the South-East of *Doaro*, and arrived at the Kingdom of *Oggy*, inhabited by *Christians*, whose King, named Brother *Michael*, is a Friar, Brother-in-law to *Claudius*, and tributary to him. This Prince gave us a very gracious Reception. The Monarch being come into the Country of the *Gassates*, (a very barbarous People) he ordered War to be carried on against them; but that People marching one Morning, and attacking the Camp of the *Abyssinians*, cut many of them to Pieces: But they afterwards were pursued, to their great Loss, by the *Portuguese*, who

who sack'd their Towns, where they found rich Plunder. Soon after we left these *Barbarians*, and marched towards *Damute*.

This Kingdom is situated on the *Nile*, which here has a very great Variety of Windings. The Access to it is very difficult, on account of the steep Mountains situated along the *Nile*, and where some narrow Passages are cut in the Rock, and those are shut with Gates, and defended by armed Soldiers; but whenever the Monarch comes into this Country, the Gates are taken away, and all Persons allowed Admittance. This is a very spacious Kingdom. Above the *Nile*, southward, is a large Province called *Couche*, contiguous to *Damute*, and inhabited by *Heathens*. The Sovereign of this Country having offended *Claudius*, he ordered me to send him a Message, in quality of a Patriarch, commanding him to lay down his Arms, and bring the Tribute, which he did accordingly. At his coming to the Emperor's Tent, he took off his splendid Garments, and put on others of less Value; four Days after which *Claudius* admitted him into his Presence, in his first Robes. He then shewed us his Riches, which are immense. The Sovereign of this Country, at the Emperor's Request, afterwards turned *Christian*, and was baptized *Andrew*. The *Portuguese*, at this King's Desire, marched out against his Enemies, whom they conquered, and brought off very rich Plunder. *Claudius* then came back to *Damute*, and returning from it along the *Nile*, towards the *Red-Sea*, we came unto the Kingdom of *Goyame* or *Gojam*, contiguous to that of *Damute*. *Gojam* is a rich and fruitful Kingdom, and abundant in all Things. To the West of the Kingdoms of *Damute* and *Gojam*, towards *Guinea*, are Countries quite uncultivated, and very little inhabited.

Above *Gojam*, and in the Neighbourhood of it, is another Kingdom of *Abyssinians* (ancient *Christians*)
I called

called *Dembea*, or *Dembya*, where is a large Lake, a great Way above which are the Sources of the *Nile*. A little below is another Kingdom called *Agua*, inhabited by *Moors* and *Heatbens*, who live intermixed. The King of this Country is independent. From *Dembea*, Westward, is a Province called *Subia Nubia*, now possessed by *Mohammedans*, which Country is said to have been formerly peopled by *Christians*, as may be concluded from some Churches, in Ruins, seen there. Still more Southward is a great Kingdom, called *Amar*, belonging to the *Moors*.

Claudius having employed about a Year in the Excursions abovementioned, returned to the Provinces of *Simem* and *Amara*, in which the Monarch usually resides. These Provinces are preferable to the rest.

The Province of *Beth Mariam* is large, populous, and produces great Revenues. *Claudius* gave it the *Portugueze*, to compensate for the Losses they had sustained at *Doaro*, by the Incursions of the *Gallas*. The Lands in *Beth-Mariam* were divided among us according to our Rank and Quality. The yearly Income of such Persons as had least, amounted to a thousand Crowns; the Captain had above ten thousand, and I myself had as much. This Province lies contiguous to the Kingdom of the *Gaffates*, who having rebelled, the *Portugueze* were ordered to wage War against them, which they did very successfully. *Claudius* being settled in the Province of *Simem*, the *Portugueze* desired Leave to go and view their Lands in that of *Beth-Mariam*; and I, at the same Time, begged to return to my Country, by which I understood *Portugal*, tho' the Emperor meant *Beth-Mariam*, otherwise he would not have indulged my Request.

We arrived in the Province of *Beth-Mariam* in the Beginning of Winter, all which Season I spent there

there. I exerted my utmost Endeavours, in order to procure the Love of my Subjects, who were commanded to keep a strict Eye, and not suffer me to escape. I was often visited for that Purpose by *Gaspar de sofa*, but always pretended to have the Gout, in order that I might have the better Opportunity of getting away. *Sofa* being gone to Court, I took that Opportunity, when assembling the chief Persons of the Province, I declared, that I was going in Pilgrimage to a Monastery called *Debra Libanus*, desiring them to pay my Revenues, during my Absence, to one of my Domestics.

The way to *Debaroa* * was directly by the Place where *Claudius* was then, for which Reason I fetch'd a large Compass about, going thro' Countries where were few Inhabitants, carrying Provisions for myself, and seven or eight Persons who accompanied me. I had ordered them to declare, on the Road, that I was very sick, and going to *Debaroa* to get myself cured. I crossed the *Nile* twice with much Difficulty. I could not help passing by some Gates, situated on that River, and guarded by Soldiers. As I ran great Hazards on those Occasions, I ordered my Attendants to say, that one of the Emperor's Servants, a Person well known, was coming after, in order to conduct me to *Debaroa*; which Stratagem succeeded, and I was permitted to go on. At last I arrived in good Health at *Debaroa*, where I met with some *Portugueze*, who gave me a very kind Reception, as did the *Bernagaiz* of the Country, who suspecting my Design, advised me to return to the Emperor. I answered that I absolutely would not; but was resolved to end my Days in that Country, in a Hermitage, dedicated to the blessed Virgin. The *Bernagaiz* approved my Resolution, and said he would write to *Claudius* about

* 'Tis called *Dobarowa* in *Moll*, and *Debarua* in *Purehas's Pilgrim*.

it, and be answerable for my forth coming. He afterwards intreated me to suspend the Excommunication I had pronounced against the Emperor and his Country ; and, in the mean Time, sent an Express to the Monarch. The Messenger, in a few Days, brought back Word that *Claudius* was highly exasperated against me, because I had excommunicated him ; and therefore would have given Orders to put me to death, had it not been out of Regard to the *Portuguese*. He declared that I was a Traitor and a forsworn Wretch, for leaving the Country without his Permission. His Orders concluded, with commanding me to continue in *Debaroa*, where the *Bernagaiz* was to watch me close.

I resided above two Years in *Debaroa*, recommending myself to God ; and found, in this Place, nine or ten *Portuguese*, who fled thither after our unhappy Defeat by *Goronba*. There arrived, about this Time, at *Debaroa*, a *Venetian* Merchant, called *Suncar*, who was come to redeem forty *Portuguese*, taken Prisoners by the *Turks* towards *Ormuz*. At the same Time arrived Father *Gonsalvo*, and another Jesuit, who were come from *India*, to enquire after me and the rest of the *Portuguese*.

During this Interval there arrived at *Matzuma* two *Portuguese* Foists, when *Gonsalvo* and I begged Leave of the *Bernagaiz*, who had Charge of me, to let me go to *Matzuma*, in order to beseech the *Portuguese* on board the two Foists, to contribute towards the rebuilding of our Church in *Debaroa*, which had been burnt down. The *Bernagaiz* consented, and lent me a Mule to ride upon ; appointing, at the same Time, six Men to travel along with me. For the greater Security, there went with us an Ambassador, whom *Claudius* had sent to the Viceroy of *India* : The *Bernagaiz* imagined that the Captain, seeing the Ambassador, would not dare to take me on board his Ship ; but he was mistaken, the

the Officer being extremely glad to have me. The Embassador seeing me in the Ship, would not stay in her, but returned ashore, he imagining that the *Portugueze* would treat him ill on my account.

We set sail, together with the *Portugueze* I had found in *Debaroa*, and arrived at *Goa*, at the Time that *Francis Barreto* was Governor of *India*, from whom I met with Civilities of every Kind. Nine or ten Months after I set out for *Cochin*, and going on board a Ship, sailed to *St. Helena*. I went ashore there, and spent a Year in that desert Land, where my Sufferings were great, occasioned by the Villainy of the Inhabitants, and the great Want I was in of all Things. At last I arrived at *Lisbon*, in *August* 1559.

We were considered, in *Portugal*, as lost Men; and indeed we were strangely neglected, which was the Cause of the little Success of our Expedition. Had Recruits been sent us, we should have forced *Claudius* and his Subjects to submit to the Church. The Conversion of the *Abyssinians* might have been the more easily effected, as there are no proud, obstinate Literati among them; the *Abyssinians* being humble, devout, and desirous to be instructed in the Truth; and as to worldly Riches, more might have been got here than in *Peru*, or by the Traffick of *India*. At the Command of *James Lopez de Sequera*, Viceroy of *India*, I went into *Ethiopia* with *Don Roderick de Lima*, and Father *Francis Alvares*, who returned to *Portugal* with the *Abyssinian* Embassador, *Tzaga-za abus*, for whom I was detained as an Hostage in *Ethiopia*. There I always met with the greatest Honours and Civilities, the Emperor appointing me Godfather to *Claudius*, his Successor. After the Death of *Abuna Mark*, his Patriarch, the Emperor in question appointed me Patriarch over his whole Empire, desiring me to go to *Rome*, to pay his and my Obedience to the

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Pope,

Pope, and afterwards to *Portugal*. I undertook the Journey by Land; but travelling from *Grand Cairo* to *Jerusalem*, was taken by the *Turks*, who had like to have killed me. Getting out of their Hands, I afterwards arrived in *Rome*, under Pope *Paul III.* who approved of my Election, and confirmed me Patriarch of *Alexandria*. Of this I received authentick Instruments at *Rome*, all which were lost in the Battle when *Don Christopher de Gama* was taken. As I have not an Opportunity of producing those Instruments, my Enemies scoff at me; but this I don't value, as I am conscious to myself that I laboured with the utmost Zeal for the Advancement of the Faith in *Ethiopia*.

So far *Bermudez*. Mr. *la Croze*, who translated this entire Relation into *French* observes, “ that
 “ it naturally forms Part of the History of *Ethio-*
 “ *pia*; and is the more authentick, as the Author
 “ resided above thirty Years in that Country; and
 “ saw Places to which the Jesuits, whom the *Abyss-*
 “ *sinians* always beheld with a suspicious Eye, were
 “ never allowed Access.

“ This Expedition of *Don Christopher de Gama*
 “ was very glorious to the *Portugueze* Nation, and
 “ Relations of it have been published by different
 “ Authors. Father *Tellez*, in the second Book of
 “ the General History of *Ethiopia*, has given one,
 “ which sometimes differs from this. There is al-
 “ so another, which seems more authentick than
 “ that of Father *Pays*, who acknowledges that he
 “ wrote his from Hear-say. This Account was writ
 “ by *Michael de Castanboso*, a *Portugueze* Gentleman,
 “ and is mentioned by Father *Guerreiro* the Jesuit,
 “ which I have not been able to recover, though I
 “ wrote to *Lisbon* for that Purpose.

“ Be this as it will, the Relation above of *Ber-*
 “ *mudez* gives a more accurate Account, in many
 “ Things, of *Abyssinia*, than that of the *Portugueze*
 “ Jesuits,

“ Jesuits, who, ever since their being banished from
 “ it, have used their utmost Endeavours to lessen
 “ the Power and Extent of that Empire. *Tellez*
 “ has prefixed, to his General History of *Ethiopia*,
 “ a Print representing the Sovereign of that migh-
 “ ty Empire, in the Form of a miserable Negro,
 “ and half naked, an evident Proof of the Passion
 “ and Hatred of the Jesuits ; it being well known,
 “ that the Emperors of *Ethiopia* are handsome Men,
 “ and richly dressed, as appears particularly by Dr.
 “ *Poncet*, who travelled into that Country.”

If I might be allowed to add a Word or two, af-
 ter so learned a Man as Mr. *la Croze*, I would ob-
 serve with him, that a great Air of Simplicity and
 Truth are seen in every Part of *Bermudez's* Narra-
 tive, wherever he treats of the Expedition ; but
 that he must certainly be mistaken in many Particu-
 lars concerning the Country, for which however he
 may deserve Pardon, in a great Measure, as the Age
 he lived in was less enlightned than this ; and the
 State of many foreign Countries was far less known
 than at present.

Among his Mistakes, I would presume to include
 what he tells us concerning the Incantations of the
 Heathens of *Gorague*, who stand in the midst of a
 Fire without being burnt ; of the *Amazons* near *Da-*
mute, who seem exactly copied from those of the
 Ancients ; of the Griffins in that Country, which
 are so large, that they carry off a Buffalo with as
 much Ease, as an Eagle does a Rabbit ; of the Phœ-
 nix, and of other Birds, who cast as wide a Shade as
 a Cloud ; of the amazing Quantities of Gold of the
 Province of *Couche*, where large Tracts of Land
 are seen, the Soil whereof is two Thirds Gold,
 and one Earth. All these Particulars I omitted, as
 supposing them to be fabulous. This the learned
Purchas hints at from time to time ; and I was very
 much surprized not to find any such Cautions in

Mr. *la Croze*, who yet might look upon them as too gross for any Persons in this Age to credit.

*Continuation of the State of the Christian Religion in Ethiopia; from the French of Mr. la Croze, Professor of Philosophy, Librarian and Antiquary to the King of Prussia. Containing the Progress and Ruin of the Portuguese Mission *.*

GRANHA's † Defeat, and the Restoration of the *Abyssinian* Emperor, were very much talk'd of in *Europe*, particularly at *Rome*, where this Revolution was considered as a sure Conquest with regard to the *Roman Pontiff*. *Ignatius Loyola* thought

* The Title of the Original is, *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie, & d'Armenie; par Monsieur Maturin Veyssiere la Croze, ancien Professeur en Philosophie, & Bibliothecaire & Antiquaire du Roi de Prusse. A la Haye, 1739, 12mo.* As this learned Author was very conversant in this Subject, and his Work has not yet appeared in *English*, I imagined that a Version of the most material Parts of it, would be an useful Embellishment to the present Work. That of Mr. *la Croze* is dedicated to the Prince Royal of *Prussia*, (now King, in 1742.) and divided into four Books: I. Containing the History and Progress of Monophysism, the Sect which supposes only one Nature in Christ.) II. An Account of *Ethiopia*, by the Patriarch of *Bermudez*. III. The Progress and Ruin of the *Portuguese Mission in Ethiopia*. IV. The Progress and Ruin of the Missions in *Armenia*. As the greatest part of the 1st Book bears no Relation to the present Work, I therefore omitted it. An Extract of Book II. has been given above. The IV. Book relating to the *Armenian Missions*, I also left out; and only translated the III. Book, concerning the Progress and Ruin of the *Portuguese Missions*, which is given here.

† Called also *Goronba* and *Ahmed*. He was not King, but Visier to the King of *Adel* or *Deila*, a *Mohammedan*, and a great Enemy to the *Abyssinian* Emperor, whom the *Portuguese* assisted; and enabled him to defeat the King of *Adel*.

it a proper Opportunity for establishing the Authority of his newly-founded Order; and accordingly set all his Engines at work, at *Lisbon* and at *Rome*, to settle a Jesuit-Mission in the Empire of *Ethiopia*. For this Purpose he desired the Pope's Leave to go thither in Person; but his Request was denied, from the Supposition that he might do more important Services in *Europe* to the Church of *Rome*, than in so far-distant a Country. Nevertheless, as he still continued suing, Pope *Julius III.* consented to send a Jesuit-Mission into *Ethiopia*, and such an one as might dazzle the Public by the Splendor of its Titles. *John Nunez Barreto* was appointed Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, and *Melchior Carniero*, titular Bishop of *Hierapolis*. These were *Portuguese*, to whom was joined *Andrew Oviedo*, a *Spaniard*, nominated Bishop of *Nicea*. These two Bishopricks were of those commonly called *in partibus Infidelium*. *Loyola*, who conducted the whole Mission, added ten more Jesuits to it, to represent by this Number, as he observes in his Letter to the *Abyssinian* Monarch, the sacred College of the twelve Apostles.

Nunez Barreto, having been consecrated Bishop at *Lisbon*, embarked for *India*, furnished with Bulls; a Recommendation from the King of *Portugal*; and a Letter from *Ignatius Loyola*, directed to the Emperor of *Ethiopia*. This Letter, a *Portuguese* Translation of which is given by *Tellez*, and drawn up in a confused manner, was certainly not writ by *Ignatius Loyola* himself, who (to do him Justice) had not the least Tincture of Erudition. 'Twill be no Mistake, I believe, to ascribe it to *John Polanco*, as well as most of the *Latin* Works said to be writ by the Founder of the Jesuits.

I shall not give the Particulars of *Barreto's* Voyage from *Lisbon* to *Goa*. The Surprize was great to hear, that the *Catholic* Affairs were not in so flourishing a Condition in *Ethiopia*, as had been imagin'd

at *Rome* and *Lisbon*; and therefore it was not thought adviseable to send the Patriarch thither, 'till they should be quite certain of the Reception he might meet with. For this Reason it was thought proper to send, into *Ethiopia*, *Gonzales Rodrigues*, a Jesuit, who was permitted to see the Emperor; but found, quite contrary to his Expectations, that there was not the least Hopes with respect to the pretended Re-union. He wrote; he disputed, even before the Emperor, and against him; and confesses, that the Abilities of this Monarch were so great, and his Arguments so strong, that he (*Gonzales*) was sometimes put to a Nonplus. A Circumstance which surprizes me is, that the Emperor's Mother, who had so long followed *Don Christopher de Gama's* Camp, was, of all, the greatest Opponent to the Union of the *Ethiopian* Church with that of *Rome*. We may naturally suppose, that her long Abode with the *Portuguese*, had given her a Contempt both for them and their Religion. Those who are desirous of enquiring minutely into all these Particulars, may peruse the 2d Book of Father *Balthazar Tellez's* History of *Ethiopia*; and the Church-History of that Country by Dr. *Geddes*, Chancellor of the Cathedral of *Salisbury*.

Gonzales Rodrigues, finding all his Endeavours would be to no Purpose, returned to *Goa*, whither he brought the Patriarch *Bermudez*, which probably was the chief Motive of his Voyage. 'Twas not likely that *Barreto* would be acknowledged lawful Patriarch of this mighty Empire, so long as *Bermudez* should reside in it; for which Reason they took Advantage of the latter's Simplicity, by making him leave the Country, in order to make Way for *Barreto*. Hence we may conclude, with Dr. *Geddes*, that the Patriarch of the Jesuits was an U-surper, not to say a Knave.

Nunez Barreto who, during this Interval, was come to *Goa*, not daring to go in Person into *Ethiopia*, had sent thither *Don Andrew Oviedo*, with five other Jesuits, who arrived in that Empire, about the close of *March 1557*, and met with a splendid Reception from *Isaac the Babar-Nagays*, or *Barnagaiz*. This was the Prince who having political Reasons to love and assist the *Portuguese*, had given *Don Christopher de Gama* Access to *Ethiopia*. This Title of *Babar-Nagays* signifies King of the Sea; and is the only Dignity that is hereditary in the whole Empire of *Ethiopia*.

Oviedo being arrived in *Debaroa*, wrote immediately to the Emperor *Claudius*, to desire Audience, and to inform him of the Matters, which the Pope and the King of *Portugal* required of him. The Emperor issued out his Orders, and *Oviedo* went to Court, where he was well enough received at first; but the Moment he offered to dispute, 'twas quite otherwise. The Emperor himself spoke with so much Force and Erudition, that he totally eclips'd all those on his Side.

These several Disputes producing nothing, *Oviedo* resolved to retire from Court, and to have Recourse to the Arms of the Church of *Rome*, i. e. to thunder out an Excommunication, which we may call, not only useless, but even insolent and seditious. " We determine and declare, (says this Instrument) " by this Sentence, that the Nations of *Ethiopia*, " in general, refuse to obey the Church of *Rome*, " though incumbent on them to obey it; this " Church being the Head of all others, &c. We " therefore require our spiritual Children to separate themselves from them; and as to the *Ethi-* " *opians*, we refer them to the Judgment of the " Church, to chastise them in their Persons and " Possessions, publicly or privately; or to shew " Mercy to them, wholly or partly, in Case of " their

312 TRAVELS of the JESUITS.

“ their Reformation, &c. Signed *Andrew Bishop of Hierapolis*; and published in our Church of *Do-*
como, the 2d of *February 1559.*”

Is it not surprizing to hear a foreign Prelate behave so haughtily, in a Country wherein he ought to have been content with being tolerated. But that is not enough for the *Portugueze*. They pretend that all Countries in the World, are immediately subject both in Temporals and Spirituals to the Pope's Jurisdiction.

In the mean Time a bloody Revolution happened in *Ethiopia*. The King of *Adel*, a *Mohammedan* Prince, invaded the Territories of *Claudius*, who marching against him with an Army, was entirely defeated and kill'd in the Field. The *Portugueze* themselves confess that he was a very gracious, learned, and polite Prince. He was succeeded by one of his Brothers, *Claudius* not leaving any Posterity. This Brother's Name was *Minas*, who, upon his Accession, assumed that of *Adamas Segued*. The *Portugueze* Jesuits declare him to have been a very wicked, cruel Man, and a mortal Enemy to the Church of *Rome*. The *Portugueze* were not happy under his Government, and the Monarch himself came to a very unfortunate End. On this Occasion *Manuel Fernandez* writes as follows, in a Letter to *James Laynes*, General of the Jesuits. Heaven employed him as an Instrument, to punish the Wantonness and riotous Excesses of the *Portugueze* *. *Mas como nosso Senbor (a o que parece) queria com elle castigar as liberdades & solturas de que alguns Portuguezes uzavam em Ethiopia, assim tambem quiz, que elle nam passasse sem agoute.*

The *Portugueze* Jesuits, in their Account of the Hatred which the Emperor *Minas* or *Adamas Segued* bore them, ascribe it wholly to his natu-

* *Tellez, pag. 178.*

zal Cruelty, and to the Education he received from the *Turks*, among whom he was some Years in Captivity. They don't mention the principal Motive of his Hatred; but this I'll shew from good Arguments, drawn from the Letters of the Jesuits themselves, and acknowledged by the Author of *Portuguese Asia*.

The Jesuits who came into *Ethiopia* with *Andrew Oviedo*, were perpetually caballing with *Isaac the Bernagaiz*, feeding him up with the Hopes of very considerable Re-inforcements of *Portuguese* Troops, which (they pretended) had been promised them at their leaving *Goa*. This ambitious Prince cultivated with all possible Earnestness, the Friendship of the *Portuguese*; hoping by their Assistance, to obtain the Sovereignty of the Kingdom of *Tigra* *, the noblest and most ancient in all *Ethiopia*. *Manuel Fernandez*, Superior of the Mission, wrote Letter upon Letter to *Goa*, to hasten the Re-inforcement in question, which, probably, the *Portuguese* never once thought of sending. In the mean Time *Minas* marched out against the *Bernagaiz*; defeated that Prince, and obliged him to retire towards the Sea. The *Bernagaiz*, finding the *Portuguese* Succours did not arrive, and being closely pursued by the Emperor's Forces; concluded an Alliance with the *Turks*, and put them in Possession of the only Sea-Ports in *Ethiopia*. The rebellious *Abyssinians*, joining with the *Turks*, defeated the Emperor's Army, and took a great Number of Prisoners, among whom were *Manuel Fernandez*, and other Jesuits, whom *Minas* had kept in his Army as Hostages. The Author of *Portuguese Asia* speaks as follows, on this Occasion; "The wicked Action of those *Portuguese*, who joined the *Turks* and the *Bernagaiz*, made them so odious to the Emperors, that they would

* In French, *Tigré*.

“ no longer hear of mixing *Portugueze* Soldiers;
“ among their Troops.”

Minas seeing his Country ruin'd by the *Turks*, engaged them once more in Battle, in which his Troops were entirely defeated, and he himself lost his Life.

The Jesuits were taken Prisoners by the *Turks*, but the *Bernagaiz* caused 'em to be immediately set at Liberty. The Death of *Minas* was enough to satiate the Vengeance of the Jesuits, but then it did no way forward their Project. To *Minas* succeeded *Malac Segued* his Son, who, during the whole Course of his Reign, did neither good nor harm to the Jesuit-Missionaries. This Prince sway'd the Scepter Thirty Years, and was never at Peace; he being perpetually at War, either with his own rebellious Subjects, or his Neighbours, and that with pretty good Success.

In the mean Time *Barreto* the Patriarch dying at *Goa*, about the close of the Year 1562, *Andrew Oviedo* his Coadjutor, pursuant to the Pope's Bull, declared himself Patriarch, and assumed that Title; which new Dignity, however, was of small Advantage to him. Having received but little Assistance from *Goa*, he was almost universally abandoned. No good can be done in these Missions, in Case an armed Force is not ready to support the Preachers*.

Esta

* Mr. *La Croze* observes, very à propos, on this Subject, pag. 396, & seq. of his *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, &c. That the Pains which the Jesuits take, in their Missions, may possibly be more owing to political than religious Views. This (adds he) I shall prove from the Testimony of an Author, of whom no Suspicion can be entertained.

Fernandez Guerreiro the Jesuit, in his *Annual Relation of the Missions of the Society of Jesus*, for the Years 1602, and 1603; after relating, with wonderful Self-Complacency, the Establishments of the Society; and the Authority which he pretends it had acquired in all the Kingdoms of *India*, not excepting *Japan* and *China*, adds these Words: “ Here follows another

“ Circumstance

Esta sempre foy a pratica dos que tem experiencia de Ethiopia, que semas armas na mam, que defendam & authorizem a os Pregadores Catolicos nam poderam

" Circumstance which must not be omitted. The Jesuit-Missionaries endeavour as zealously to preserve and establish the Temporal Estate as the Spiritual. They indeed don't employ Fire or Sword, that is no wise becoming their Profession; their Conduct, in another Respect, proves highly advantageous. As many *Heathens* as they convert to Christ, so many Friends and Vassals are won over to his Majesty. When Wars break out, they fight to defend the State; and, as true *Christians*, they join the *Portuguese*, and become good Soldiers. The Missionaries, in what Country soever they happen to be, keep them in the Obedience which they owe to their Kings and Governors."

This plainly shews the political Views, by which these Missions are chiefly directed; and 'tis a common Expression in *Spain*, *Dios y el Rey*; i. e. God and the King. The *Heathens* of *Japan* saw plainly through all this; which accordingly gave Rise to the Persecutions that broke out there in the XVIIth Century. *Guerreiro* writes thus, in the Work above cited. " Not long since under the Reign of *Tayco*, Captain *Saint Philip*, Commander of a Galleon, cast away on the Coast of *Japan*, declared publicly, that the *Spaniards* used to employ the following Methods in order to conquer Foreign Countries. The *Spaniards* before their Arrival, deputed Friars, and other Ecclesiasticks, to establish *Christianity* among the People in question; and afterwards sent Soldiers, who joining with the new Converts, seized upon the Country. This made so strong an Impression on the *Heathens*, that 'twas chiefly from this Consideration, that the Tyrant *Tayco*, put to Death all the *Franciscans* then in *Japan*, as likewise the Missionaries of our Society. That Tyrant raised a cruel Persecution against the *Christian* Religion, taking our Churches from us, and banishing our Missionaries."

Those who peruse what *Kempfer* has wrote concerning the last Persecution of *Japan*, will find much the same Thing. The *Chinese* entertain the like Suspicions, and these appear well-grounded. In a Word, 'tis certain that Policy has as great a Share, if not greater, in the Jesuit-Missions, as a Desire to extend Christ's Kingdom.

The Consequence of this is, the Jesuits were not only drove out, but they also have obliged *Heathen* Princes, to refuse all European Nations Access to their respective Dominions; as is plain from *Ethiopia* and *Japan*. This manifestly proves the ill Conduct of the Jesuits in their Missions.

nunqua

nunqua ter o successo desejado entre aquelles schismaticos *.

The great Promises made by the Jesuits, began now to be very much suspected in *Lisbon*; and whether it was that the *Portugueze* gave little Credit to, or were unable to assist them, they resolved to send for all the *Portugueze*, whose Number was then very considerable in *Ethiopia*, to *Goa*. *Oviedo*, Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, since the Death of *Barreto*, had fled, with Part of his *Portugueze*, and the few *Abyssinians* who joined him, to *Fremona*, a little Town not far from the Sea. 'Twas there he received a Brief from Pope *Pius V.* commanding him to leave *Ethiopia*, and exercise his ministerial Functions either in *China* or *Japan*. This Brief had been sent at the Request of Don *Sebastian* King of *Portugal*, who was convinced that nothing further could be done in *Ethiopia*. *Oviedo* receiving the Brief, in 1567, answered the Pope, that he was not in a Condition to abandon this Country; and to lose, under his own Eye, the most glorious Enterprize in the World †. Nevertheless, *Oviedo* submits entirely to his Holiness's Will, provided he can but be enabled to leave *Ethiopia*, which yet he represents as impossible, as it really appeared to be; he dying, at *Fremona*, in so miserable a Condition, that he did not leave wherewithal to cover his Body. According to *Guerreiro* the Jesuit, *Oviedo* had prophesied that *Fremona* would always be an Asylum for the *Portugueze*, in which, however, it will soon appear that he was mistaken ‡. *Oviedo's* Death was followed by that of the Jesuits his Companions; the last of whom (*Francis Lopez*) died in 1597, at which Time there were no more Jesuits in *Ethiopia*.

* *Tellez*, pag. 184. As this is confess'd by a Jesuit, 'tis something extraordinary.

† *Tellez*, pag. 195.

* *Relagam Annual nos Annos de 607 & 608, fol. 42. vers.*

Such was the Result of the first Mission of the Jesuits in this Empire, after all the Efforts employed by *Loyola*, and the Monies expended by the Kings of *Portugal*.

This Enterprize was therefore now looked upon as given up, though there yet remained a great Number of *Portugueze* in the *Ethiopian* Dominions. Nevertheless the Jesuits were still endeavouring, in *Spain* and *Portugal*, to set this Mission on Foot again. *Philip II.* who had seized upon *Portugal* by Methods universally known, resolved to revive the Correspondence formerly carried on between the *Portugueze* and *Abyssinians*. For this Purpose he wrote *Malac Segued* a Letter, and sent it by *Lewis de Mendoza*, a *Portugueze* Gentleman, who accompanied *John Battista*, an *Italian* Bishop, which Prelate died in the Journey. *Mendoza* himself delivered the Letter into the Hands of *Malac Segued*, from whom he brought an Answer for King *Philip*. This Letter, writ in the *Ethiopian* Language, was copied in the *Escorial* Library, by Mr. *Sparwerfeld*, a *Swedish* Gentleman of great Learning and Eminence; and *Ludolf* has inserted it in his Commentary on the History of *Ethiopia*, pag. 483. & seq. Mention is likewise made of this Mission of the *Italian* Bishop, in the History of the Expedition of *Alexis de Menezes*, Book I. Chap. IV. pag. 23. *Tellez* also speaks of *Lewis de Mendoza*; but takes no Notice of his Voyage to *Ethiopia*, nor of the *Italian* Bishop who died in the Journey; nevertheless these are Things which he could not be ignorant of; but 'tis customary with the Writers of the Society, to suppress all such Particulars, as don't tend to the Glory of their Order *.

* This seems but too true an Observation of Mr. *La Caze*, as all who are conversant with the Writings of the Jesuits must acknowledge.

There

There are other Circumstances, in this Expedition of *Lewis de Mendoza*, which may justly make us suspect the Veracity of *Tellez*, notwithstanding that he seems to require Belief from all his Readers.

Mendoza, at the Request of the Jesuits, put on Board some Ships belonging to the *Indian* Merchants called *Banians*, two Jesuits, viz. *Anthony de Montserrat*, a *Catalan*, and *Peter Pays*, a *Spaniard*. These *Banians* who traded to *Maçua* *, the chief Port of *Ethiopia*, had promised to convey the two Jesuits thither; but these were discovered by the Way, and reduced to a cruel seven Years Captivity, from which they got released paying a large Ransom. This laborious Captivity was of Service in some Measure to *Pays* the Jesuit; he learning the *Arabic* Language in Perfection, which afterwards was of great Use to him, when he returned to *Ethiopia*, as will be seen in the Sequel. *Anthony de Montserrat* went to *Goa*, and died there the last Year of the sixteenth Century.

A Resolution was formed, during the Captivity of these two Jesuits, to send others into *Ethiopia*; and for this Purpose, *Abraham de Georgiis*, a *Maronite*, and a Jesuit, was pitched upon. He was a Person of very singular Merit; extremely well skilled in all the Oriental Tongues, and consequently very fit for the intended Employment. He then taught the *Syriac* Language to the *Christians* of *Malabar*; and 'tis he only who can have there introduced the Pronunciation of the *Western Syrians*, observed in the pretended Inscription of *Sigan-fu*, as is proved in the Remarks to my *History of the Christian Religion in India*. This *Maronite*, who was a very brave Man, went in Disguise to *Maçua*, the first Port in *Ethiopia*. Thus far Matters went on well; but he being afterwards discovered to be a *Christian*,

* *Maçuma*.

was seized by the Captain of the Fortrefs. As *Abraham de Georgiis* could not be prevailed upon to renounce his Faith, he lost his Head. However, he merited a better Fate, if there can be a better than for a Man to lay down his Life for *Christ Jesus*.

In 1603, Father *Pays* the Jesuit returned to *Ethiopia*, which he entered in the Disguise of an *Armenian*, and was joyfully received there. Immediately after his Arrival, he wrote to the reigning Emperor; declaring that he, upon receiving his Commands, would wait upon him. This Emperor's Name was *Jacob* *, natural Son to *Malac Segued*, who left no legitimate Children; but had appointed at his Death, *Za-Danguil*, Son to one of his Brothers, to be his Successor. The last mentioned was of an Age fit for swaying the Scepter, and *Jacob* was but a Child. Thus there were two Competitors for the Throne, each of whom had his Party. But a Third started up, falsely called *Socinios*, (his true Name being *Susneus*) by my *Portuguese* Author, and he triumphed over the other two.

Za-Danguil invited to his Court Father *Pays*, who, as appears from every Part of his History, was a Man of Intrigue, and a great Politician. I

* We are told that a Son of this Emperor came into *Europe*.
 " *Zaga-Christ*, who came to *France* 1653, and called himself
 " Son to the Emperor *Jacob*, killed in Battle against *Susneus*,
 " was certainly an *Abyssinian*. Whether he was really the Monarch's Son, or otherwise, his Person was exceedingly
 " graceful. *Bochart*, who had seen him, told *Ludolf*, that
 " when *Zaga-Christ* appeared among other Princes, the Beauties of his Mind and Body were such, that he eclipsed them
 " all. *Ludolf* thought him an Impostor, but *Renaudot* was of a
 " contrary Opinion; and did not doubt his being of the Blood-
 " Royal of *Ethiopia*. He died at Twenty-six Years of Age,
 " in *Ruel* near *Paris*, where he was interred." *La Croze Hist.*
du Christianisme d'Ethiopie, pag. 76, 77. Mr. *La Croze* gave the
 above Account, to prove that the *Abyssinians* are handsome Men,
 and do not resemble the *Negroes* of *Africa*, as some assert.

shall not mention the several Steps taken by him to establish the *Romish* Religion in *Ethiopia*, and win over the Emperor. He prevailed with him to write to Pope *Clement* VIII, and to promise the most profound Obedience. “ That Prince is very liberal of Compliments to his Holiness, of whom (says he) Father *Pays* has given us a particular Account; and declares, that the Zeal of your Holiness is so great, as to shed your Blood for the Salvation of Men”.

He likewise wrote to *Philip* II. King of *Spain*. His Letters are cited, in *Portuguese*, by the Jesuits *Guerreiro* and *Tellez*. *Ludolf* thinks them spurious, and I am of his Opinion. However this be, the greatest part of *Ethiopia* took up Arms against *Za-Danguil*, who marched against the Rebels; fought them, and lost his Life. During the Tumults which broke out after *Za-Danguil*’s Death, *Susneus* endeavoured to pave his Way to the Throne, for which Purpose he raised an Army, and marched against *Jacob*, who had been restored after *Za-Danguil*’s Death. *Susneus* gave Battle to *Jacob*’s Troops, defeated him; and had the Satisfaction to hear that he was slain in Battle. Thus *Susneus* got Possession of the whole Empire. He assumed, at his Coronation, the Name of *Seltam Segued*, and behaved with great Moderation after his Victory. The Instant he was settled on the Throne, he thought of the Jesuits, and sent for them. We may suppose that he had some View to Religion on this Occasion; but the most probable Conjecture is, that he flattered himself that the *Portuguese* would send him some Troops from *Goa*, to assist him in those troublesome Times.

Father *Pays* desired the Emperor to write to the Pope and the King of *Spain* for Forces; but the Affairs of the *Portuguese* were then in so bad a

Condi-

Condition in *India*, that he could get nothing but mighty Promises, all which were of no effect.

During this Interval, a Report prevailed that the Emperor *Jacob* was still living, and had a considerable Party in the Kingdom of *Tigra*. Whether this was *Jacob* himself, or only an Impostor who assumed his Name, 'tis certain he gave great Uneasiness to *Seltam Segued*, who at last crush'd him, but with great Difficulty; the unhappy Man in Question being at last seized and beheaded by two *Ethiopian* Gentlemen, who sent his Head to the Emperor.

The *Romish* Religion began now to be upon a better Foot than ever in *Ethiopia*, the *Portuguese* Jesuits triumphing in all Places. *Philip II.* and Pope *Paul V.* wrote Letters to *Seltam Segued*, who resolved to send an Embassy to *Rome* and *Portugal*. The Ambassador, whose Name was *Fekura Egzie*, went from Court with *Anthony Fernandez* a Jesuit. They set out in *March* 1613; and were to have travelled by Land to the Countries conquered by the *Portuguese* on the Coast of * *Melinda*. They had not foreseen, (abstracted from the Length and Difficulty of the Journey) the Oppositions they would necessarily meet with from the *Abyssinians* themselves, who were not pleased with an Expedition, the Tendency of which seemed to be, to make them Slaves to the *Portuguese*, by facilitating their Access to the *Ethiopian* Empire. For this Reason, the *Abyssinians* led them purposely out of the Way; so that, after going a tedious and dangerous Journey, they returned to Court without having done any Thing.

One of the chief Promoters of this Journey was *Ras Cella Christos*, the Emperor's half-Brother, who seemed to have embraced very zealously the *Romish* Religion, of which he was the chief Sup-

* A Town of *Ethiopia*, on the Coast of *Zanguebar*.

port, even after the Death of the Emperor his Brother.

At this Time the *Portugueze* and *Abyssinians* were publicly engaged in very warm Disputes, the Result of which was, the Emperor published a Proclamation, commanding that no Person should thenceforward presume to advance, that there was but one Nature in Christ; the Monarch sentencing to Death all such as should maintain the contrary.

This Proclamation, and others which followed it, made the whole Kingdom rise, and particularly the Friars, who are vastly numerous, and have great Authority in *Ethiopia*. The *Egyptian Abuna*, a Man very far advanced in Years, joined them; and fulminated an Excommunication against all Persons who should favour and support the Union. In the mean Time, Father *Pays* did not forget his own Interest; he building a Palace for the Emperor, and assisting in the Work, which the *Ethiopians* greatly admired, they not having seen any such Buildings among them for many Years. The *Abyssinians* grew more and more uneasy. A Lord, named *Julius*, Viceroy of the Kingdom of *Tigra*, and the Emperor's Son-in-law, took up Arms, to restore the Religion of the *Abyssinians*, which was now going to be extirpated.

The *Abuna* abovementioned, whose Name was *Simon*, joined that Lord's Army, and exhorted the whole Empire to follow his Example.

Julius marched out his Army against the Emperor; but advancing rashly into the midst of his Enemies, he was soon killed.

Simon, the ill-fated Patriarch, was placed on an Eminence, where he saw *Julius's* Defeat. However, he imagined himself secure, on Account of his Character; and indeed several *Abyssinians* passed by the old Man, without once offering to hurt him; but at last a brave Catholic, *hum valente Catholico*, struck him with a Lance, and felled him, half dead,

to the Ground. Some Soldiers coming up afterwards, compleated the Butchery, and carried his Head to the Emperor.

At this Time arrived two Jesuits in *Ethiopia*, as Fore-runners of the Patriarch, whom the Emperor had desired to be sent thither, who was expected daily. And now the *Abyssinian Monophysites* * published a Piece, mentioned by *Tellez*, against the *Romanists*; and printed in *Ethiopian* by *Ludolf*, with a *Latin* Translation, page 494, of his Commentary. This Piece is very ill writ, and hath not common Sense.

Another Lord, *Jonael* by Name, Viceroy of *Begamedra*, took up Arms from the like Motives, and fortified himself on steep and almost inaccessible Mountains. He had a Party at Court, *Seltam Segued* seized and put to death all those who were convicted of engaging in Interests which opposed the Establishment of the *Romish* Religion; but the Evil had now taken such deep Root, that the Remedies applied on this Occasion, served only to inflame it.

At the same Time another Insurrection broke out in the Province of the *Damotes*, which was quelled by a mighty Victory *Ras Cella Christos* gained over them. *Jonael*, who was forced to retire among the *Gallas*, was killed in their Country by the Emperor's Command.

'Twould carry me too far, should I specify the great Butchery made of these unhappy People. Some Men, who were famous Hermits, and renowned throughout the whole Empire for their Sanctity, were massacred on this Occasion.

About this Time the Emperor entertained a very strong Suspicion of *Ras Cella Christos* his Brother; and made him sensible of his Displeasure, at a Season when the whole Empire was in a Flame. In

* *Monophysites*, those who acknowledged but one Nature; and *Monothelites*, those who allowed but one Will in Christ.

324 TRAVELS of the JESUITS.

Portugal, Don *Alphonso Mendez* had been elected Patriarch of *Ethiopia*; and he arrived in that Country about the Middle of the Year 1625. Being come into the Emperor's Presence, he agreed with him upon a Day on which the Monarch, and all his Court, should pay solemn Homage to the Pope, at that Time *Urban VIII.* This was performed the eleventh of *February*, 1626. The Patriarch made a long Harangue, which the Emperor answered in few Words; and afterwards kneeling down, the latter took the following Oath on the Book of the *Gospels*.

“ We *Saltem Segued*, Emperor of *Ethiopia*, believe and confess, that *St. Peter*, Prince of the Apostles, was established by our Lord *Jesus Christ*, as Head of all the *Christian Church*; and that he gave him the Sovereignty and Lordship of the World, when he said to him, *Thou art Peter, and on this Rock I have built my Church*, &c. Moreover, We believe that the Pope of *Rome*, lawfully elected, is the true Successor of *St. Peter*; and invested with the same Power and Dignity over the whole *Christian Church*: And we promise and swear to our holy Father and Lord *Urban VIII.* and to his Successors, true Obedience; laying at his Feet, our Person and our Empire. So help us God and his holy *Gospels*.”

The Emperor having taken the Oath, all the Princes, Viceroy, and Clergy, took the same on their Knees. The Solemnity being ended, *Ras Cella Christos* made a long Harangue, concluding with the following Words; “ Well: What is done, is done; and those who have not discharged their Duty, shall be judged by this Sword”. He held it drawn, whilst he was speaking these Words.

The whole Solemnity closed with administering the Oath to Prince *Basilides*, Heir and Successor to his Father, “ ’Twas now (these are *Tellez’s* Words) that

“ that *Ras Cella Christos*, as a true Son of the Church
“ of *Rome*, enforced his Oath by a Condition wor-
“ thy of his brave and *Christian* Spirit”. *I swear*
(said he) *to acknowledge the Prince as Heir to his Fa-*
ther's Empire; and to obey him as his faithful Vassal,
so long as he shall support, defend, and favour the holy
Catholic Faith; otherwise I will be his first and great-
est Enemy. All the Captains of his Army, and his
eldest Son, took the same Oath, and on the like
Condition.

Immediately after, the Emperor caused a Procla-
mation to be made throughout all the Army, that
no Priest or Monk should thenceforward presume to
administer the Sacraments, before he had first been
examined by the Patriarch. Farther, People were
commanded by another Proclamation, to embrace,
upon Pain of Death, the *Roman Catholick Religion* *;

Y 3

and

* Mr. *la Croze*, in his *Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie*,
&c. pag. 382. & seq. has made some very good Reflexions on
this Occasion; and as he had studied the Subject thoroughly, it
may not be improper to hear what he says; especially as it will
give us some Light into the Religion of the *Abyssinians*, about
which Authors differ so much, as the Reader may have seen by
the Notes on Dr. *Poncet's* Journey into *Ethiopia*. The Religion
of the *Ethiopians* (says Mr. *la Croze*) is not very pure, yet ma-
ny Footsteps of Antiquity are seen in it. Tho' the cloister'd
Life has prevailed so much among them; and tho' their Fast-
ings are so extremely rigorous, that the Particulars told us con-
cerning them seem almost incredible; yet the *Abyssinians* free
themselves, whenever they think proper, from the Severity of
these superstitious Practices. The Circumstances affirmed by *le*
Grand, tom. 2. pag. 94. of his Works, viz. that their Monks ne-
ver marry, is disproved by the Testimony of *Tellez*, who ob-
serves, pag. 483, col. 1. “ That their State (as Monks) does not
“ prevent their having Wives: *O ser Monges nam Ihes tira se*
“ *em Casados*, &c.” They also may aspire to their chief Em-
ployments of the Government. Some of them have command-
ed Armies, and signalized themselves by their Valour; of which
we find a remarkable Instance in the Relation of *Francis Al-*
vares.

'Twould be lost Labour to attempt to reconcile the Opinions
of these *Christians* with those of the *Latin Church*; which yet

is

and to observe the Customs practised by that Church, with regard to *Easter-Sunday* and *Lent*. The Court-Ladies

is the chief Aim of the Missionaries whom the Pope sends into those Countries ; but 'twould surely be much more to the Purpose, to bring about a true Union between all these *Christians*. Nothing seems easier in Speculation ; but then the Practice, enforced by numberless ridiculous Prejudices, will ever oppose the Wishes of such as love Harmony and Peace. Besides, the *Romanists* will not allow such an Union and Reconciliation to be endeavoured at, except the first Article in the Treaty be, the Acknowledgment of the Pope's Supremacy, which will always be an invincible Obstacle to this Union.

Farther, those who attempt such a Work, must curse and anathematize the Dead, and inroach on the Rights of the sovereign Judge of Men. Should such not pronounce an Anathema against *Nestorius*, by cursing his Name and his Memory, they would never be thought good *Christians* by the *Monophysites*, who, on the other Hand, curse St. *Leo* the Great, and all his Adherents.—

The *Eastern* Churches, are not acquainted with the Superstitions of the *Latin* Church. The ridiculous Fable of conveying the House of *Loretto*, which is the perpetual Object of the superstitious Devotion, not only of the common People, but even of Kings, and Persons of the greatest Distinction ; the History of our Lady of *Montserrat* ; St. *Januarius's* Blood ; and so many other Trifles, are wholly unknown to them. The *Easterns*, indeed, have their Superstitions ; but then they are fewer in Number, and less ridiculous.

To bring about an Union, all Things vicious, whether in Doctrine or Worship, should be suppressed ; but to this the Obstinacy and Avarice of the Ecclesiastics will be an insurmountable Obstacle. Whilst Persons of a peaceable Temper shall be labouring at the public Welfare, Cavillers will start up, whose rough and indecent Behaviour will defeat all the Pains taken by those of a contrary Disposition.

The following Passage is extracted from the political Works of *Abbé St. Pierre*. “ To add to the Felicity of the Professors of the *Christian* Religion ; mutually to increase their *Christian* Justice and Beneficence, and consequently to secure their Salvation, it might be wished that the Errors of the *Greek Christians* and *Protestants* were considered, by the *Roman Catholics*, merely as venial Errors among Divines of the same Communion, rather than as Heresies, and as just Subjects for Hatred, Schism, and War.”

Ladies were ordered, by the Emperor, to take the like Oath next Day.

Y 4

After

Mr. *la Croze* has said before, *pag. 78. & seq.* " I shall now give my Thoughts with respect to the Religion of the *Abyssinians*.

" As they receive, from *Egypt*, their Abuna or Patriarch, who is the sole Bishop in all the *Ethiopian* Empire, 'tis no doubt but they are *Monophysites*, like the *Egyptians*. But this is not all: The Jesuits and Missionaries declare they have imbibed several other Errors. They observe Circumcision, and abstain from all Meats forbidden by *Moses's* Law. They observe the *Sabbath-day*; and have various other Customs, which bear a Conformity to those of the *Jews*.

" If I may venture to give my Opinion on this Head, I fancy that the *Abyssinians*, who, as is agreed by all the learned, came out of *Arabia* into *Africa*, borrowed their Religion from the *Nazareen Christians**, whose Descendants they may possibly be. Indeed all their Customs resemble those of the *Nazareen Christians*, and must necessarily have been borrowed from them.

" The *Portuguese* Jesuits charged them with committing a great Crime, in allowing Circumcision, tho' the *Abyssinians* confess, that they do not consider it as a Sacrament necessary to Salvation. And indeed, they have ecclesiastical Communion with the *Armenians*, and *Syrian Monophysites*, tho' these are not circumcised. If they themselves reproached the *Portuguese* with being uncircumcised, this should be ascribed to the ill Humour into which they had been put, and not to the Principles of their Religion.

" With regard to Circumcision, by what Right would the *Romanists* oblige them to lay aside a Practice established among them during several Ages, and probably even before they were *Christians*?

" The *Abyssinians*, being circumcised, were called. One would therefore conclude, from the Authority of *St. Paul*, *Epist. I. to the Corinth. chap. vii.* that they have a Right to practice Circumcision. Those who desire to be farther informed of this Matter, ought to consult the philological Dissertations of *Mr. James Rhenford*, printed at *Utrecht* in 1722.

" The rest of the *Ethiopian* Rites flow from the foregoing, which I shall not take upon me either to defend or refuse. Those who are desirous of a full Account of them, may peruse the History of *Mr. Ludolf*, who indeed has committed some flight

* These Christians retained Circumcision, and the Mosaic Law.
See Du Pin.

After these Proclamations, one would have concluded that nothing remained to be done, and yet there was one Difficulty which was insurmountable, viz. the Impossibility of making the Clergy and People consent to this Change. The Emperor's Threats terrified every one. His Soldiers began to butcher those who scrupled to obey. The Monks, and particularly the *Anchorets*, sheltered themselves upon Mountains, in lonely Caves, where they were killed the Instant the Murtherers discovered them. Whenever they could not get near these ill-fated People, they would stifle them, by filling their Recesses with Smoak. If any of them, either thro' human Frailty, or to avoid Persecution, yielded in outward Appearance, they nevertheless adhered to their first Sentiments in their Hearts; not one of the *Ethiopians*, as the Emperor observed afterwards to the Patriarch, willingly embracing the *Romish* Religion; so that the Court was obliged to have Recourse

" slight Errors, but which are far from meriting the very
 " severe Reproaches cast upon them by *Abbé Renaudot*, part of
 " which I refuted in *l'Europe Savante*".

'Tis certain, that any Writer on these Subjects, who does not find, among the *Eastern Christians*, those Tënets which the *Romanists* are most tenacious of, is immediately considered by them as a dishonest Man.

On this Occasion I shall relate a Particular, which I had from very good Hands. When *Dr. Poncet* went into *Ethiopia*, the Court of *France* ordered him to enquire what was their Belief concerning the Sacraments of the Church. Now the Emperor *Adiam Seghed*, in the Answer he wrote to the King of *France*, reckons only five Sacraments, which he calls Mysteries, agreeably to the Sense of that Word in *Greek*. First, (says he) is the Description of the blessed Trinity; Secondly, the Incarnation of the Son of God; Thirdly, Baptism; Fourthly, the Eucharist; Fifthly, the Resurrection of the Dead; whence it appears that the *Romanists* did not find the Thing they looked for among the *Ethiopians*. This Letter, which is very ill drawn up, and with great Ignorance, is annexed to the Dissertations of *Mr. le Grand*, pag. 212, *Dutch Edit.* 1728; and the Person who translated the Letter into *French*, does not seem well skilled in the *Ethiopian* Language.

course to the Methods usually employed by the *Roman* Pontiffs, for converting the Disobedient. The Reader must not suppose here, that I falsely charge the *Romanists* with a Conduct so opposite to the gentle Spirit of the Gospel. 'Tis to no Purpose to object to these *Romanists* the Examples even in the Infancy of the Church: They did not want Will (say these *Romanists*) but they had not the Power. Here follow the Words of Doctor *Gonzales de Illescas*, in the first Part, pag. 117, of his *Pontifical and Catholic History*: "If obstinate Heretics were
 "not then burnt, the Reason was, that besides
 "their being very powerful, the Pope was not supported by the temporal Princes. But now that
 "the Faith is established and received, and the sovereign Pontiff has acquired great Power, Justice requires that we inflict the most cruel Punishments on them, &c." In thus abridging the Words of the *Spanish* Doctor, I have very much lessened their Force and Spirit. Those who are possessed of his Book, may consult the Passage above cited.

These Cruelties produced the Effects which might naturally be expected. Insurrections broke out on every Side; and *Tecla Guergis*, one of the greatest Lords in *Ethiopia*, Viceroy of *Tigra*, and doubly Son-in-law to the Emperor, two of whose Daughters he had married successively, declared against the Monarch. He levied Forces; and, to persuade all the *Abyssinians* that he was in earnest, he caused a Chaplain, whom the Jesuits had presented him, to be hanged in his Camp. This Insurrection proved fatal to him, he being defeated by another *Abyssinian* Lord, who seized him in a Cave, where he had hid himself after his Defeat. The Emperor ordered him to be hanged on a Tree; and, to strike the greater Terror, he caused a Lady, *Tecla's* Sister, to be hanged likewise, upon Pretence of her having
 been

been an Accomplice in his Rebellion. All the Lords and Ladies of the Court were struck with Horror at this sad Spectacle ; the hanging of Ladies, and especially a Woman of such high Rank, being a Thing unheard of in *Ethiopia*.

The Credit of *Alphonso Mendez*, the Patriarch, encreased daily. Being supported by the Emperor, he arrogated to himself, contrary to the Laws and Customs of *Ethiopia*, an Authority which the Abunas, his Predecessors, had never possessed. Nevertheless, *Ras Cella Christos* was suspected the more, in Proportion as the Jesuits succeeded in their Projects. 'Twas whispered both to the Emperor and to Prince *Basilides* the Heir-apparent, that *Ras Cella Christos* intended to seize upon the Empire ; and that this was the Reason why he himself was so strongly attached to the Jesuits ; they having promised to procure him some *Portugueze* Troops, by the Way of *Angola*. This made so great an Impression on the Monarch's Mind, that he dispossessed *Ras Cella Christos* of the Viceroyalty of *Goyame*, the richest Province of the whole Empire ; and considerably lessened his Revenues and Forces. The Agaus, or Peasants of the Kingdom of *Begamedra*, rose likewise ; and sending for a young Man, sprung from the ancient Emperors, they offered him the Crown, provided he would set himself at their Head.

He accepted the Offer, and gave out that a Desire of Sovereignty had not prompted him to draw the Sword, but the Hopes he entertained of restoring the Religion of his Ancestors. This Declaration brought over to him a Multitude of Friars, who having hid themselves before, now joined his Army with a great Number of Peasants.

Melca Christos, for so this young Prince was named, got together a great Body of Forces ; and fortified himself in steep Mountains, of almost impracticable

cable Access, and with those Troops, which were ill disciplined, and assembled in haste, he defeated several Bodies detached from the Imperial Armies.

The *Portugueze* Patriarch, in spite of all these Disturbances, proceeded with his usual Vigour, he incroaching daily on the ancient ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Empire, and even on that of the Monarch. A famous Friar, highly revered in the Country; and who, for several Years, had been the *Ichéje*, or Head of his Order, dying without making an Abjuration, was buried at the Foot of the Altar of a Church, where the Patriarch had deposited the Remains of another Monk, who either was a *Catholic*, or called himself such. *Alphonso Mendez* hearing this, ordered the Body to be dug up, and thrown in the Fields, which was done accordingly. This Action greatly exasperated the *Abyssinians*, who declared, that the *Portugueze*, not satisfied with making War against the Living, extended their Hatred even to the Dead, whose Carcasses they persecuted.

Another remarkable Incident was this. The Patriarch had seized a Woman whom he pretended to be a Witch; but finding this Affair produced an ill Effect, he caused her to be set at Liberty. However, it made a great Noise; the *Abyssinians* not believing any Thing with regard to Witches and Incantments. They think, on the contrary, that the ascribing to the Devil the several wicked Acts which the *Portugueze* declare him to be guilty of, is falling into the Error of the *Manichees*, who admitted two Principles, the one good and the other evil; in which the *Ethiopians* discover more good Sense, than the *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* *. Probably the

* Mr. la Croze says, pag. 356, of his *Hist. du Christ. d'Ethiopie*; "I don't scruple to call the *Nestorians* and *Monophysites* *Christians*; but would not presume to give this Name to the *Portu-*

the Patriarch's Design was to introduce the Inquisition in *Ethiopia*, it appearing, by the *Autos da fe*, that the chief Business of the Inquisitors is to enquire into these pretended Incantations.

There happened also another Revolution in 1631. A young Prince, Nephew to the Emperor, and Viceroy of *Goyame*, took up Arms in Defence of the ancient Religion, and put to death some *Catholics*.

The Monarch perceiving that the Rebels increased daily in Strength, resolved to march in Person against them. He gained some Advantages at first, and was Spectator of a very moving Scene. Five Friars and four Nuns having retired to avoid the *Portugueze*, one of the Nuns appeared on a Rock, with a Book in her Hand. The Nun told the Emperor's Soldiers, that she looked upon them as *Mohammedans*; and therefore bid them not come near her, lest she should be polluted with the Touch: Saying which, she threw herself head-long from the Rock, still holding her Book; and the Mountain being very high, her Body was dashed to Pieces.

In this Manner Things growing worse, the whole Court, and all the Army, addressed the Monarch, beseeching him to soften his Severity, and indulge some Favour to the Religion of their Fore-fathers. Upon this, *Seltam Segued* gave public Orders, in his Army, for changing a few trifling Matters; with Leave for the *Ethiopians* to use, in the Sacraments, their ancient Books, upon Condition that they should be first revised and corrected by the Patriarch. Upon this *Alphonso Mendez* wrote to the Emperor, and put

“ *Portugueze* and *Spaniards*; and am even of Opinion, that it
 “ would be Blasphemy to consider them as such. And indeed,
 “ what have they that can be considered as belonging to the
 “ *Christian* Religion? Relicks, Images, and scandalous Pro-
 “ cessions, such as those used at the *Autos da fe*.”

put him in Mind, in Terms no wise respectful, of the Example of the King in Scripture, who having offered up Incense to the Lord, was struck with the Leprosy, for presuming to undertake an Office which belonged only to the *Levites*. The Patriarch hereby intended to shew, that 'twas his Business only to grant such Dispensations; and that the Emperor had acted wrong on this Occasion. *Seltam Segued* answered him in very just, prudent and modest Terms; observing among other Particulars, that when the *Romish* Religion was first brought into his Empire, it did not spread, either by the preaching of the Jesuits, or by Miracles, (those Fathers not working any) but merely because the *Ethiopian* Books, agreed well enough with those of the *Romanists*.

Two Reflexions may be made on this Occasion: *First*, That these People, whom we falsely consider as *Barbarians*, were soon sensible, that the several Disputes relating to the Incarnation were grounded merely on Words, either ill understood, or falsely explain'd: *Secondly*, That all the Miracles related in the annual Letters of *Francis Guerreiro* are mere fictions; since the Emperor, though so zealous for the *Romish* Religion, does not speak of any such.

The Emperor being unsuccessful in his first Expedition against the Rebels, marched again towards them; fought, and gained an important Victory; eight Thousand of the Enemy being slain, and great Numbers flying. This Defeat occasioned an universal Panic. Most of the Courtiers conducted the Emperor to the Field of Battle, and according to *Tellez*, spoke thus to him: "Behold, (Sir) the
 " many Thousands who lie here slain. They are
 " neither *Mohammedans* nor *Heathens*, but your
 " Vassals; our Blood and our Relations. Whe-
 " ther you vanquish, or are overcome, you'll
 " thrust a Dagger into your own Bowels. Those
 " who

“ who have taken up Arms, have nothing to re-
 “ proach your Majesty with; but they are not fa-
 “ tisfied with the Law, which you resolve to force
 “ upon them. How much Blood has been spilt on
 “ Occasion of this Change of Religion. The
 “ *Ethiopians* do not like the *Romish* Religion: Leave
 “ them therefore in Possession of that of their An-
 “ cestors, otherwise you will lose your Kingdom,
 “ and we our Quiet.” * The Emperor was now
 seized with a deep Melancholy; so that after long
 inward Struggles, he consented, in order to quiet
 his People, to the publishing of a Proclamation, al-
 lowing all Persons free Liberty to join with which
 Party soever they pleased.

This Proclamation, which *Tellez* calls wicked and
 sacrilegious, gave incredible Satisfaction to all the
 People and the whole Army. Most of the *Ethio-*
pians burnt the Beads or Chapelets that had been
 put into their Hands by the Jesuits. They com-
 posed a short Spiritual Song, the Sense of which
 is this:

*Sweet Freedom, now, the Ethiop-Lambs enjoy,
 Snatched from the Jaws of the fell Western Wolves,
 By holy Cyril †, and the Apostle Mark:
 Exult with Joy, and Hallelujah's sing.*

Ludolf has inserted the above Song (Book III. Chap.
 12. of his Commentary) in the *Ethiopic* Language and
 Characters. It had been communicated to him by
 Abbot *Gregory*, who will be mentioned in the Se-
 quel.

The Patriarch waited upon the Emperor, and re-
 presented to him, that this Liberty of Conscience

* 'Tis surprizing that *Tellez* should insert this Speech, as it
 proves the Horrors which the *Romish* Religion had brought into
Ethiopia.

† Of *Alexandria*.

would

would occasion Civil Wars; some declaring for the See of *Rome*, and others for that of *Alexandria*. However, the Patriarch shewed very little Judgment in making such a Representation to the Emperor, who yet returned no other Answer than this: *What can I do? I have no Kingdom that I can call my own.*

Ras Cella Christos wrote a long Letter to the Emperor, wherein he discovered little Sense, and at the same Time the strongest Prejudices suggested to him by the Jesuits. The *Ethiopians* began, even in the Life-time of *Seltam Segued*, to seize on the Jesuits Churches, which looked like so many Fortresses rather than *Christian Churches*.

Seltam Segued died in 1632, aged 61 Years, and in the 21st of his Reign: Thrice happy for this Monarch, had the above-mentioned Fathers never set their Foot in his Country.

He was succeeded by *Basilides* his Son, who, at the very beginning of his Reign, seized his Uncle *Ras Cella Christos*; he not having forgot the Words which had been spoke by him, when he took the Oath above-mentioned. 'Twill be supposed that the Patriarch-Jesuit did not escape on this Occasion. The Emperor commanded him to deliver up to two Persons whom he dispatched for that Purpose, all the Fire-Arms in his Possession; and to retire instantly to *Fremona*, in the Kingdom of *Tigra*. *Mendez*, who was greatly afflicted at this Order, wrote a long Letter to the Emperor, which *Tellez* has given at large, in the *Portugueze* Tongue. He therein offers to soften many Particulars; and promises to indulge the *Abyssinians* in all such, as should not be contrary to the Divine Law, the Communion under both Kinds excepted; his Holiness having reserved to himself the right of determining, on that Article, as he shall think proper.

Seltam Segued the Emperor (which Name *Basili-des* his Son assumed) sent the Patriarch a proper Answer. He told him, that they did not differ at all, with Regard to the Disputes concerning the two Natures; but that the Circumstance which chiefly exasperated them against the *Portugueze*, was, that besides taking away the Cup, and changing their Festivals and Fasts; they were so bold as to re-baptize those who went over to the *Roman Catholicks*; and to re-ordain their Priests and Deacons, as tho' they supposed the *Ethiopians* had not been true *Christians*, till the *Portuguese* came among them. The Patriarch afterwards desiring to dispute publicly with the learned Men of the Nation, the Emperor replied: *You established your Faith by Violence and Tyranny, and not by Arguments.*

I shall enlarge no farther on the Expulsion of the Jesuits; but shall observe, that the Emperor seems to have treated them cruelly and unjustly. He forced the Patriarch and his Retinue to set out upon a long Journey, after taking away their Arms, with which they might have defended themselves from Thieves on the Road. And indeed they were plundered, and got to *Fremona* in a very poor Condition. Soon after a new Order was issued, commanding them to quit the Kingdom of *Tigra*, and embark for *India*. They shuffled for some Time, but to no Purpose; they being obliged to go to *Maçua*, and from thence to *Saquem*, where they were delivered up to the Bassa of that Place, who treated them very cruelly, and obliged 'em to pay exorbitant Ransoms.

From that Time, Things have been growing worse; and the Name of *Roman-Catholics*, of what Nation soever, is utterly detested by the *Abyssinians* *. They put to Death some Jesuits who had hid

* This appears also, from what we are told by another learned Gentleman, Monsieur *De Maillet*, the French Consul at
Grand

hid themselves, in order to preserve in the *Romish* Communion; the few remaining *Ethiopians*, who still professed it.

The Subject now grows so extensive that I am oblig'd to quit it. Those who desire to enquire more minutely into these Affairs, may peruse *Tellex's* History, *Ludolf's* Commentary, and Dr. *Geddes's* Church-History of *Ethiopia*.

Mr. *Michaelis*, Professor of Divinity and the *Eastern* Languages at *Hall* in *Saxony*, has given a succinct,

Grand Cairo. *Lewis XIV.* (says he) did all that lay in his Power, to get the Missionaries introduced at the *Ethiopian* Court, which is extremely difficult. The Emperor is not easily prevailed upon to admit Strangers to it, and still more so to permit any such to return. The Avenues are strictly guarded, and all Foreigners are denied a Passage through them. A *Frank* is no sooner arrived at the Frontiers, but he is very carefully searched from Head to Foot, to see whether he has no Arms, or Merchandizes which may give Umbrage: However, this Search is neither long nor painful. Travellers are obliged to go almost Naked in this Country; the richest Dress a Person is permitted to appear in, being a blue Linen Shirt. I very much question whether a Traveller might wear a Cap, this being a Privilege allowed to none but the Monarch, as likewise that of wearing Shoes and Stockings. Above all the *Ethiopians* examine whether the Stranger is circumcised; a Precaution taken from the Hatred the *Abyssinians* bear naturally to the Catholic Religion. The rest arise from the fear they are under of admitting Spies into their Country, lest these after becoming acquainted with the Situation of it, should bring in their Enemies and so enslave them. The *Abyssinians* who are *Cophts*, are so extremely cautious in this Particular, that they will not permit such Strangers as profess their Religion, to leave *Ethiopia*; when once they are come into it. Of this we had a singular Instance in the last Archbishop, whom they desired from the Patriarch of the *Cophts*. They were not satisfied, at first, with their new Archbishop; and thereupon wrote to the Patriarch for another. Accordingly a new one was sent; however, before his Arrival in *Ethiopia*; they were reconciled with the first, and yet would never permit the other to leave their Country, though the Patriarch earnestly solicited his Return.

Hence it is manifest, that it is exceedingly difficult to get Access to the *Ethiopian* Court; and 'twould not be easy to suggest what

succinct, and yet particular Account enough, in the *German* Language, of the Troubles which the Arrival of the Jesuits occasioned in *Ethiopia*. This Work, printed at *Hall* in 1724, is prefixed to the Life of *Peter Heyling* of *Lubeck*, who travelled into *Ethiopia*, with an *Egyptian Abuna*, sent thither after the Resignation of *Mendez* the Patriarch. This *Heyling* who was a learned Man, saw the *Portuguese* Patriarch

Pretences might be used, or what Methods employed for this Purpose. 'Tis certain that in order to succeed on this Occasion, it would be necessary that such Person or Persons understood the *Ethiopian* Language, and were of an Olive Complexion. About fifty or threescore Years ago, some *Ethiopians* who were come to *Grand Cairo*, gave at their Return from thence, so advantageous a Character of a *Capuchin* they saw there; and whom they applauded particularly for his great Skill in Physic, that the Emperor who had been long afflicted with Sicknes, sent to inform the Friar that he should be very welcome in his Dominions. The Father thereupon prepared to go to the Monarch, when some *Franciscans* who were come to *Grand Cairo*, with the Design of travelling into *Abyssinia*, being persuaded that the offer in question related to them also, set out for that Country, without waiting for the *Capuchin*. These Fathers were received with all imaginable Civility upon the Frontiers. The Instant Notice was sent of their Arrival, the Monarch dispatched Orders for their being brought to Court; but when they came before him, and he was told by the Officer who had so highly praised the *Capuchin*, that he was not among them, the Emperor was so much enraged, that he ordered them to be immediately put to Death. Thus, by the imprudent Precipitation of these Friars, the *Europeans* lost a very favourable Opportunity of getting Access once more to the *Ethiopian* Court.

The Situation of *Saquem*, and the sad Catastrophe of those Fathers, suggested a Project which probably might have been successful, had not the Face of Things been changed. The Island of *Saquem* lies on the Frontiers of *Ethiopia*, in which *Matzuma* is included. This is the only Way by which the *Ethiopians* have any Correspondence with the *Red-Sea*. 'Tis not above ten or twelve Days Journey from *Gondar*, where the *Negus* usually resides; and the *Bassas* kept there by the *Ottoman* Court, never failed formerly to send an *Aga* annually to the *Abyssinian* Court, where they were respected, more out of regard to the Grand Signior, than from any Fears the *Ethiopians* might be under

Patriarch at *Saquem*, and disputed with him; and afterwards proceeded to *Ethiopia*, where he was greatly esteemed. Could he have returned to *Europe*, we doubtless should have been favoured with a very valuable Relation of *Abyssinia*; but he was massacred by the *Turkish* Bassa of *Saquem*, in his return Home. Doubtless the Emperor had no Hand in this Murther, he discovering the highest

under from the Governor of *Saquem*, who resides there merely by their Courtesy. Now 'twas my Opinion that, by the Favour of these Agas, Measures might have been concerted, with Regard to more important Missions. And indeed, a Bassa, to whom Persons should be strongly recommended, might have had numberless Opportunities of procuring Missionaries Access to the *Ethiopian* Court. 'Twould have been enough if they, at their Arrival, were not taken for *Franks*; the religious *Cophts*, who govern the *Abyssinian* Court, having done their utmost to make that Name odious in it. The Missionaries therefore might go in a secular Habit, as they do in *England* and some other Missions. They might first ingratiate themselves, by practising Physic, or by Painting, of which the *Abyssinians* are passionately fond. Thus they would have gained Reputation at Court; have had a near View of Things; and after winning the Favour and Esteem of the Monarch and the great Men, might have taken proper Opportunity to speak to them concerning Religion, and shew them their Errors.

However, when the *Ethiopian* Court, found that one of these Agas sent by the Governor of *Saquem*, endeavoured to search after some Gold Mines, which are very common in this Country, the Monarch broke off all Correspondence with the Bassa, and will not permit any of these Agas to enter his Dominions. But as this was the only Canal by which this Court was furnished with such Foreign Goods as they had Occasion for; the Emperor, to compensate for this, sends many of his Subjects into *India*, *Persia*, *Arabia* and *Egypt*. I shall mention in my Memoirs concerning *Ethiopia*, one of these Envoys of the *Negus*, called *Agi Ali*, who came to *Grand Cairo* in 1698; and of my sending on that Occasion, Dr. Poncet, a French Physician, into *Ethiopia*, and the Success of his Journey. See *Description de l'Egytte, composée sur les Memoires de Mr. De Maillet, ancien Consul de France au Caire, par Mr. l'Abbé de Masquier, pag. 325. & seq. Paris 1735, 4to.* It were heartily to be wished, that this Consul's Memoirs, with regard to *Ethiopia*, might be published.

Esteem for *Heyling*; and 'twas with great Reluctance that he permitted him to leave his Dominions.

Basilides who, (as was observed) in the Beginning of his Reign, assumed the Name of *Seltam Segued*, was afterwards called *Alan Segued*. He was born in 1607, and began to reign in 1632.

Ludolf in his History and Commentary, gives the Names of his several Successors. The *Europeans* cannot have the least Correspondence with *Ethiopia* in this Age, the Reason of which may be seen in *Le Grand's* Historical Voyage to that Country, Tom. II. pag. 36 *. “ It were to be wished (says “ he) that the Patriarch, who doubtless possessed “ very shining Qualities, had not undertaken so “ much; nor so greatly enforced his Authority, “ by acting in *Abyssinia*, as he would have done in “ a Country where the Inquisition was established. “ He made all the *Ethiopians* his Enemies; and “ drew such an Odium upon the Catholics (the “ Jesuits in particular) that the Hatred in which “ they were then held continues to this Day.”

The only Circumstance now remaining would be, to mention the learned Men who have flourish'd among the *Abyssinians* if there were any; but we don't know so much as one. The *Abunas* are very ignorant *Egyptian* Monks, who aspire to no other Function than that of ordaining Priests and Deacons. They never preach, nor write any Thing for the Instruction of the People. *Ludolf*, pag. 298, & seq. of his Commentary, gives a Catalogue of all the *Ethiopian* MSS. seen by him in various Libraries. The learned Reader may consult them.

I might here speak of Abbot *Gregory*, so famous for the Elogiums bestowed on him by *Ludolf*; and

* This is accounted for, in the above Note from *De Maillet's* Description of *Egypt*.

the Reproaches cast on him by *Renaudot, le Grand*, and other mean, controversial Writers.

Mr. *le Grand* has been so bold as to assert, that neither *Tellez* nor *Mendez* make the least mention of Abbot *Gregory*. I have shewn the contrary in one of my Defences of Mr. *Ludolf*, printed in the 10th Volume of *l'Europe Savante*, pag. 265. See *Tellez*, pag. 650.

Such as desire to be acquainted with Abbot *Gregory*, should read the Particulars inserted by Mr. *Fabricius*, in an incomparable Treatise, printed at *Hamburg*, Anno 1731, and intituled, *Salutaris lux Evangelii toti Orbi per divinam Gratiam exoriens, &c.* In this Work, pag. 716. & seq. are inserted the Answers of Abbot *Gregory*, as wrote by him in the *Ethiopian* Language, and afterwards translated into *Latin*. I have had this MSS. in my Hands; and the Edition of it, published by Mr. *Fabricius*, contains only the *Latin* Version; but the Original, which I myself saw and perused, is likewise writ in the *Ethiopian* Tongue, with all imaginable Purity and Elegance. This Piece, intituled *Theologia Ethiopica*, consists of Twelve Chapters, against which no Objections can possibly be brought. 'Tis not proper to omit what he says concerning the Number of Sacraments, which he reduced chiefly to Three, viz. Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Confession. *Mysteriorum* (i. e. Sacramentorum) *certus numerus non est. Constat tamen illos dicere, Mysterium Baptismi, Mysterium S. Cœnæ, Mysterium Confessionis. Alia Mysteria vel Sacramenta non sunt in usu.* This is for *Renaudot, le Grand*, and other such Missionaries. Let them digest it if they can *.

* The Reader may observe, that two Authors have been of Service to me, in the Relations concerning the *Ethiopian* Affairs, added to Dr. *Poncet's* Journey; I mean Consul *de Maillet's Description of Egypt*, and particularly, Mr. *La Craze's History of the Christian Religion, &c. in Ethiopia*. I did not meet with them

them till after the Sheets, containing Dr. Poncet's Journey into *Abyssinia*, were gone to Press, otherwise I should have altered a few of the Notes, particularly that, pag. 236, and 337, relating to the *Nile*, from Father Lobo *, and that pag. 244, where 'tis observed that the *Abyssinians* acknowledge but two Sacraments. However, the Reader will thereby have seen the Opinions of various Authors on those Subjects. But as Truth ought to be the sole Object of every Writer, I shall take all Opportunities of rectifying any Mistakes I myself may commit in the Course of this Work.

Here follows what Mr. La Croze says, concerning the Extent of *Ethiopia*, and the Source of the River *Nile*. 'The Situation of this wide-extended Empire, as it was when most powerful, is pretty well known; but 'tis very much curtailed, ever since a barbarous Nation called the *Gallas* or *Galles* seized upon many of its Provinces, and destroyed a considerable Part of the oldest and finest Churches.

'This Empire, such as it is at this Day, extends from the Red-Sea to the Kingdom of *Adel*, whose Sovereign is a *Mohammedan*, and an Enemy to the *Abyssinians*. This we learn from the Relations of the Jesuits, who pretend to have discovered in *Ethiopia*, the true Sources of the *Nile*, unknown to all the Ancients.

* In a Treatise intituled, *A short Relation of the River Nile; of its Source and Current; of its overflowing the Campagna of Egypt, till it runs into the Mediterranean, &c.* Translated at the desire of the Royal Society, from a Portuguese MSS. by Sir Peter Wyche, pag. 17 and 18, London printed 1673, 12mo, the Reason why the Antients did not discover the Sources of the *Nile*, is accounted for thus. *This Discourse is not improperly ended, by a Reflexion, why Alexander the Great, and Julius Cæsar, using so great Diligence to discover the Head of the Nile, miscarried in the Enterprize: The Reason was because they sent Discoverers against the Stream; thus going by Land, the Length of the Journey, the many Kingdoms and Provinces to be travelled through; the Swarms of barbarous People to be encountered; so many unwholesome Climates to be passed, made their Advance impossible. Going by Water, the same Difficulties increased to attend them: The violent Current of the Nile stopt their Passage; and coming to the first Cataract, they could not proceed, but were forced back with lost Labour; and being without either Knowledge of, or Commerce with the Abyssinian Empire, by the Red-Sea, they neither ventured that Way, nor conceived their Design so feasible. Thus were their Endeavours frustrated: The Knowledge of this Province would, by some of the Ports of the Red Sea, have brought them into the Abyssinian Empire.*

But

' But 'tis my Opinion, that no Strefs ought to be laid on their Accounts; and I also think that *Ludolf's* Map, drawn from the Memoirs of the *Portugueze* Jesuits, may be objected to on many Accounts.

' The Reader may peruse what Mr. *de Maillet* says on this Subject, in his Description of *Egypt*, and he will plainly perceive, that the Sources of the *Nile*, which were a Mytery to the Ancients, are the same to us.

' Farther, the Latitudes don't seem to be accurately laid down in this Map. Dr. *Poncet* who travelled into *Ethiopia*, about the Close of the last Century, and the Beginning of the present, tells us, that the Town of *Geasim* (*Giesim*) is half way between the City of *Sennar*, and the Confines of *Ethiopia*; and in the Tenth Degree of North Latitude, according to the Observation made by Father *Brevedent* *. Now Father *Brevedent* was a learned Jesuit, and a good Mathematician, who accompanied Dr. *Poncet* to the Confines of *Ethiopia*, where he died.

' According to *Anthony Fernandez* another Jesuit, and a *Portugueze*, quoted by *Nicholas Godigno*, Book I. Chap. XI. pag. 69. the two Poles are seen in the Kingdom of *Dambea*; and the Antarctic is the highest, which methinks proves, that the Latitudes are not accurately fixed in the Map of *Ludolf*, who blindly followed that of the Jesuits, inscribed in Father *Tellez's* general History of *Ethiopia*, Book I. Chap. IV.

' Here follows another Proof, which methinks deserves Notice, though I don't quite rely upon it. *John Baptist Homan*, Geographer to his Imperial Majesty, printed in *Nuremberg*, a general Map of all *Africa*, in the Margin of which he inserted the following Words.

' *Benevole Spectator.*

' *Ludolphum hætenus incautè secuti sunt qui quodam novo systemate originem Nili recentioribus Tabulis suis perperam inseruerunt. Nos auctoritatem viri maxime Rev. P. Henrici Schereri, S. J. Geographi celeberrimi, qui ex veris P. P. Missionariorum suæ Societatis Relationibus tale nobis, quale hic posuimus, Schema utriusque Nili, albi & atrii fluminis, præfiguravit, amplectimur; curiosoque Historicæ Veritatis Indagatores ad ipsam Authoris opus sunt: bus prænobilis viri Joannis Caspari Bencardi, &c. Bibliopolæ Augustani præstantissimè editum, remittimus.*

' I enquired among my Friends for this *Atlas* of Father *Scherer*, but could never meet with it; and some Persons of Genius and Learning, assure me that 'tis not much esteemed. He places the Sources of the *Nile*, and of the *Niger*, a great way

* See Page 205, of this Work. In the Note of which I myself had taken Notice, before I saw Mr. *La Croze's* Work, either that Dr. *Poncet*, or our Geographers, were mistaken on this Occasion.

on the the other Side of the Equinoctial, and declares it to fall into the Lake *Zaire*. In order to establish such a Paradox, 'twould be necessary to produce the Relations of those Jesuit-Missionaries, upon whose Assertions he grounds his Opinion; and we don't know of any such. However this be, 'twill form a new Difficulty, till such Time as this Matter shall be cleared up by new Discoveries. *Histoire du Christianisme de l'Ethiopie. pag. 68, & seq.*

I am humbly of Opinion, the Particulars here-under almost put this Matter out of Dispute; and shew that all the Attempts to discover the Sources of the *Nile* (from the Supposition that it rises from one or two particular Springs) were, and will be, to no Purpose. Here follows what Consul *de Maillet* says on this Occasion.

As it never rains in *Egypt*, particularly in the upper Part of that Country, the Source of the *Nile* must consequently be at a considerable Distance from it. On the other Hand, as 'tis extremely difficult to advance up to its Sources, on Account of the Barbarity of the Nations, whose Countries must necessarily be travelled through; and that the Advantages arising from Traffick, cannot inspire any Person with Courage enough to undertake these dangerous Journeys, since no Commodities are found in them; 'tis no Wonder that Authors, being very little acquainted with these unfrequented Regions, should have thought and writ so variously about the Sources of the *Nile*. And indeed, when we read what the *Greek* and *Roman* Historians relate concerning the Origin of this River, one would conclude that *Ethiopia* was wholly inaccessible and unknown in their Days. Nevertheless the *Romans*, especially after their Conquest of *Egypt*, carried on the War as far as *Nubia*, which separates this Country from *Ethiopia*; and they might easily have enquired concerning a Nation which lay so near them. I yet pardon them for not knowing the Origin of the *Nile*, as I likewise do *Ovid* for speaking thus of the River in question,

Nec contigit ulli

Hoc vidisse caput.

The Sense is:

The *Nile's* fam'd Source still undiscovered lies.

And indeed, what Man could guess it's true Source; and fix the real Place, as it were, of it's Birth, amid an hundred thousand Springs or Rivulets, formed by the Rains, which falls with an astonishing Abundance, during the whole Season that the Sun is perpendicular; that is, from the Time it returns towards us, from the Vernal Equinox to the Summer Solstice; and its going back, by returning from this Point towards its Autumnal Equinox? In the vast Extent of Country,

which

which it travels over during these six Months, pouring down Floods of Water, from its rising to its going down; in a Region where every Place is a Lake, a Spring, a Rivulet or River, what Man could be able to discover its true Source; and to know which of these, preferably to a Million of others, we ought to ascribe the Origin of a River that is scarce navigable at *Sannar* *.

But spite of the Difficulties, to discover the geographical Point of the *Nile*'s Source, Travellers have yet ventured to assert on the Credit of *Ethiopians*, that under the Line, and near the Lake *Dambea*, which a Horse would be two Days in going round; from two neighbouring Mountains, on which two Castles stood, two large Rivulets descend, which falling into the Plain, unite in this Lake, whence afterwards issues that famous River, which is there very inconsiderable. This was even confirmed to me by an *Armenian* Bishop, who having been conducted to the *Ethiopian* Court, had obtained leave from the *Abyssinian* Monarch to visit the Sources of the *Nile*. Others fix the Source of that River on a trembling Hillock, surrounded with Mountains; and add, that the Aperture, whence it bubbles forth with Noise, is eight or ten Foot Diameter. Finally the *Portuguese* Jesuits, speak concerning the Source of the *Nile* in a different manner from other Writers, and yet their Accounts bear a great Affinity to what they tell us; they fixing it on an Eminence overspread with Verdure, whence issue two mighty Springs, the Depths of which are not known, and are called by them the Eyes of the *Nile*; the Eyes and Sources being denoted by the same Word in *Arabic*.

Shall I give you (Sir) naturally, my Opinion with respect to these different Ways of accounting for the Origin of the *Nile*? I confess that I believe 'em all equally imaginary; and am persuaded that the sole Desire of fixing a Thing that can never be fixed; perhaps to embellish a Relation with some typographical Description, gave Rise to those Castles; to those verdant Eminences, those trembling Hillocks; to those sounding and capacious Apertures abovementioned. A Circumstance generally known is, that about the Middle of the wide-extended Country, comprehending *Ethiopia*; from various Mountains, rise a numberless Multitude of Springs, formed by the abundant Rains that descend in this Country; and that this vast Collection of Rivulets falls into the Lake *Dambea* abovementioned: That from this Lake issues a River, which flowing first eastward, afterwards bending towards the South, thence to the West, and afterwards to the North, includes, in a complete Circle, the Mountains, from whence most of its Waters descend: That this River, afterwards watering various Pro-

* Dr. Poncet calls it *Sennar*.

vinces of the Kingdom of *Ethiopia*, increases perpetually in its Progress towards the Kingdom of *Sennar*; receiving in its Course, to the Right and Left, a great number of other Rivers, no less considerable than itself, which fall in Cascades; and are formed, in like Manner, from a numberless Multitude of Rivulets and Torrents that pour from other Mountains, near which the first River flows. That arriving at last at *Sennar*; and advancing towards *Gary* and *Dongola*, the two principal Cities of *Nubia*, standing on that River, 'tis joined by other considerable Rivers flowing westward, particularly by a large River which the Inhabitants of the Country call *Baharabiad*, or the *White Sea*, from the Whiteness of the Waters, which doubtless is owing to the Colour of the Earth dragged along by it. Hence we may naturally conclude, that the *Nile* does not rise from a single Spring; and that its Rise is not on the other Side of the Equinoctial.

I cannot forbear mentioning, on this Occasion, the Particulars told me by an *Ethiopian Turk*, *Agi Ali* * by Name, Agent to the *Alyssinian* Monarch, in *Egypt*. Sitting one Day with him, on the Banks of the *Nile*, at the Foot of *Old Cairo*; and considering, with Surprise, the then Shallowness of its Waters, (its Bed not being, in Winter, above a quarter of a League wide there) The *Ethiopian* perceiving my Astonishment, spoke thus: Seest thou this River? 'Tis doubtless wonderful, that the numberless Waters, of which it is composed even at its Rise, and which increase considerably in their Course, should here be reduced to so narrow a Compass. But I protest to thee (before Heaven) that there are, in *Ethiopia*, an hundred Rivers at least, as broad and full as that before thee; all which contribute to swell the *Nile*, exclusive of the *White River* that empties itself into the *Nile*, to the left, two or three Days Journey below *Sennar*. These several Rivers, indeed, shrink prodigiously; are sometimes quite dried up, in barren Plains, in burning Sands, and in Abysses which they flow over, in their Course from *Ethiopia*, to the Mountains of *Nubia*.

I shall likewise observe, that the *White River* above-mentioned, which is equally considerable with the *Nile*, tho' its Name be lost when it falls into that River, flows close by it, quite from its Rise; accompanies it, in its Course, to the Distance of twelve, fifteen, and twenty Days Journey; when being itself increased by the continual Rains, which, as I said above, fall, from the Equinoctial to the twentieth Degree, during near six Months, at last composes, with it, those prodigious Quantities of Water, which have occasioned so many Disputes. 'Tis after this Junction, that the *Nile*, having

* This, I suppose, is the Person called Hagi-Ali, by Dr. Poncet. See Pag. 178, of this Work.

gained such vast Strength, and resembling a Sea rather than a River, advances still forward, with Impetuosity, towards Egypt, subduing all the Countries which would oppose its Passage; and comes, at last, to the Passes of those Mountains, which, for the Space of eighteen or twenty Days Journey, separate Egypt from Nubia. There charging with Fury all such Rocks as oppose its Course, it gives them Battle an hundred Times daily, on which Occasion the Nile ever comes off victorious; and forces a Passage, by its Rapidity, thro' these inaccessible Mountains. Finally, being arrived at the Frontiers of Egypt, proud of its various Conquests, but fatigu'd by them, and still foaming after its numberless Fatigues, it, at last, finds a smoother Bed, wherein it seems to unbend after its Toils; stretching at Ease, and being for ever accompanied, to the right and left, with the Mountains it has subdued, which seemed to open in order to make Way for it. From what has been observed here, 'twill be naturally concluded that the Nile is not navigable above Egypt. See *Description de l'Egypte: Composée sur les Memoires de M. de Maillet, &c.* pag. 38. & seq. Methinks what Consul de Maillet tells us here concerning the Origin of the Nile, seems quite probable; so that it may perhaps be to no Purpose to seek for any other Cause of it, than the excessive Rains he speaks of. Travellers have observed (as was hinted elsewhere) that in the Beginning of Summer, violent Rains always fall in Countries situated between the Tropics, whereby the Low-lands are overflowed; and that all Rivers which rise or flow between the Tropics have this Effect, they breaking their Bounds every Year; overflowing the Lands in their Progress to the Sea; and leaving behind them a prolific Mud like that of the Nile, which creates vast Fertility. A Circumstance which persuaded me fully, that Mr. de Maillet is right in his Conjectures, is a Passage which the Reader will meet with in the Sequel of this Work, extracted from Father Martin's second Letter to Father de Ville, and is as follows. *These high Winds are the Forerunners of the abundant Rains that fall on the Western Coast of India, and on the Mountains of Malabar; and they give Rise to the Coloran, (a very large River) which flows throughout the Kingdoms of Maissour, Madura, Tanjaour, and Choren-Mandalam. The Indians expect these Rains as impatiently, as the Egyptians did the Inundation of the Nile. The River continuing dry; the Inhabitants dreaded a general Famine, &c.*

To

To the JESUITS of FRANCE. *

Reverend Fathers,

MANY judicious Persons are of Opinion, that I have not yet addressed any Collection of Letters to you, more instructive and entertaining than the following. You'll there see many of our Missionaries labouring, in China and in the East and West Indies, with the utmost Courage and Chearfulness, to which we hope Heaven will at last give Success; and the learned will have the Satisfaction of meeting with a great Number of singular Remarks on different Subjects.

But as the Account given of California † is the newest and most curious Part of this Collection; in order that the Public might not be ignorant of what we have been able to learn hitherto, concerning a Country, of which no History that I know of, has yet been writ; I thought proper to add a succinct Relation of the At-

* Vol. V. of the Original begins here.

† As this Relation of the Jesuits concerning *California*, was known in *Europe* so early as 1705, 'tis surprizing that Mr. Noblot, Author of the *Geographie Universelle*, a Work in 6 Vol. 12mo. dedicated to the late Regent of *France* (the Duke of Orleans) should not have met with it, but still have been of Opinion that *California* is an Island, and for that Purpose quotes the following Authority of a Writer on Geography. "It has long been a Doubt (says Noblot, from *Corneille's* Geographical Dictionary) whether this Country joins to the Continent of *North America*, or is separated by some Streight; but People are now persuaded that *California* is an Island". See *Geographie Universelle*, by Noblot, Tom. V. p. 592. Paris, 1725, 12mo. I shall observe, by the way, that Noblot seems too credulous a Writer, he having larded his Work with a great many Particulars drawn from Travellers, whose only View was to excite the Wonder and Astonishment of their Readers, at the Expence of Truth and good Sense; a Practice for which the first Inventors of those Fictions merit the sharpest Censure, as the laying them before the Reader is often the highest Affront to his Understanding, and the spreading them may be of the greatest Disadvantage to Society.

tempts which have been made, from time to time, to enter that vast Country; and the Manner how our Missionaries discovered very lately, that California joins to the Continent of America; and is not an Island, as our modern Geographers had always imagined *.

The

* If California, or the Countries farther westward, or to the North-west, should join to *Eastern Tartary*, or some Country in those Parts, the first peopling of *America* could easily be accounted for, and consequently a Multitude of Conjectures must have been made on that Subject to no Purpose. Among these, one of the most singular ones is that I met with in the Travels of Father *Avril*, which he informs us was told him by a learned Vaivod of *Smolensko*. "On the other Side of the River *O-*
" *by*, is a large River called *Karwoina*, in which another called
" *Lena*, at the Mouth of the first, which empties itself into the
" *Frozen Sea*, is found a large and very populous Island, fa-
" mous for the hunting of the Behemoth, an amphibious Ani-
" mal, whose Teeth are greatly esteemed. The Inhabitants go
" often to the Shores of this *Frozen Sea*, to chase this Mon-
" ster; and as this Sport takes up a long Time, they common-
" ly take their whole Families with them. Now it happens fre-
" quently enough, that a Thaw coming unexpectedly, they
" are carried I know not whither, on vast Pieces of Ice, which
" break away one from the other. With regard to myself (add-
" ed the Vaivod) I don't doubt but that many of those Hunters
" have been carried, on these floating Islands, towards the most
" northern Point of *America*, which is not very far distant from
" that Part of *Asia*, whose extremity reaches to the Sea of *Tar-*
" *tary*; and, a Circumstance which confirms me in this Opini-
" nion, is, that the *Americans* who inhabit the Country situa-
" ted farthest on that Side towards the Sea, very much resem-
" ble these Islanders, who by their immoderate Thirst of Gain,
" thus run the Hazard of being carried, in the manner de-
" scribed above, into a foreign Country". To these Conjec-
" tures we may add, (says Father *Avril*) that there are in that
" Part of *America* hinted at here, many Animals which are very
" common in *Muscovy*, and particularly *Beavers*, which possibly
" might have been carried into *America* in like manner. This
" Conjecture appears to me more probable, as we daily see in *Po-*
" *land* mighty Pieces of Ice, whose Bulk does not diminish very
" much, during their Passage from *Warsaw* into the *Baltick*. But
" to know this Matter with still greater Certainty, it would be
" proper to enquire into the Languages of the two Nations, whose
" Resemblance, in Feature, is so very great; for should there be
" any Affinity between these, methinks all Doubt, with regard to
" this

The Spaniards had some Knowledge of California, from the Time they conquered Mexico, to which they gave the Name of New Spain. Ferdinand Cortez, Marquis del Valle, so famous for his Exploits, having ended that first Enterprize so honourably to the Spanish Name, prepared a Fleet in Hopes of seizing upon a Country which was thought one of the richest in the World*. 'Twas a noble Project, and must have been exceedingly advantageous, had he been successful enough to put it in Execution, but he was not allow'd Time for it. This great Man † was obliged to return suddenly to Mexico; his Presence being necessary to check the Commotions with which that Country was menaced. For this Reason he was oblig'd to lay aside all Thoughts of California, tho' he was invited to it, especially by the immense Profit it was imagined he would reap from the Pearl-Fisbery, carried on along its Coasts. From that Time, the Spaniards have often attempted to possess themselves of it; but whether they had not taken proper Measures for well settling their Colonies; or, had not afterwards supported them, 'tis certain that all their Designs had been defeated, which made them entirely abandon that Country, when Charles II. of Spain, animated by a holy Zeal ‡, gave Orders for sending Missionaries thither, in the View of converting those Heathens; and for establishing, if possible, a solid Correspondence with them.

this Subject, would be at once removed. *Voyage en divers etats d' Europe, et d' Asie. Enterpris pour decouvrir un nouveau chemin à la Chine. Par le Pere Avril, pag. 210, 211, 212. Paris, 1692, 4to.*

* Cortez is said to have first discovered California, in 1535.

† Many Persons don't view Cortez in the same Light with our Jesuit; but rather as an illustrious Villain, considering the many horrid Injuries he did the Mexicans.

‡ 'Tis well known, that the pretended Piety of Monarchs on these Occasions, is generally no more than a Desire they have to acquire Wealth; thereby to aggrandize their own Power, at the Expence of the common People, whose Countries they endeavour to subdue; at least to procure Settlements in them.

Accord-

Accordingly Marquis de la Laguna, at that time Viceroy of Mexico, sent thither the Admiral Don Ifidoro de Atondo, with two Frigates, an Advice Boat, and all Things necessary for settling a Colony in that Country. These Ships sail'd, from the Port of Chalaca in New Galicia, the eighteenth of January 1683, and arriv'd at the Port of our Lady of Peace *, in California, the thirtieth of March of the same Year. They built a Fort here, and Fathers Matthias Gogni, and Eusebius Francis Kino, Jesuits, began to preach. But this Settlement, from which such mighty Things had been expected, was not more happy than the former ones; so that our Missionaries were obliged, some Time after, to leave California, and to retire into the Provinces of Cinaloa and Sonora †, where the Faith, during some Years, had made a surprizing Progress.

The Return of the Fathers Gogni and Kino, greatly afflicted Father John Maria de Salvatierra, a Milaneze Jesuit, who was labouring very zealously at the Conversion of the Indians of the Province of Taromara, called by the Spaniards New Biscay. One Day, as he was reflecting with Grief on the numberless Nations who were daily perishing, in those wide-extended Countries, for want of Instruction and Succour, he was strongly inspired to devote himself to the Mission of California, and preach the Gospel again in that Country. But tho' he was so extremely desirous of following the Voice which then called him, he yet could not indulge his Wishes on that Occasion; his Superiors removing him from his Mission, and appointing him Head of the College of Guadalaxara, and afterwards of that of Tepotzotlan, and Director of the Novices in the Province of Mexico. Tho' these different Employments seemed to frustrate the Design with which Heaven had inspired him, he yet did not lose Sight of it;

* I suppose this is the Port de la Paz, as it is called in our Maps, to the South-east of California.

† These are in Mexico, almost opposite to California.

on the contrary, he took all the Steps necessary for executing so difficult an Enterprize ; and had the Honour to discourse frequently about it with the Dutcheſs of Seſſa, and Count de Montezuma, her Huſband, Succeſſor to the Marquis de la Laguna, as Viceroy of New Spain.

This Count, who has lately been raiſed to great Honours by his Catholic Majeſty, for the important Services done by him, both to Religion and the State, applauded Father Salvatierra's Deſign, and promiſed to obtain the Approbation of his Sovereign. On theſe Aſſurances, the Father began to act without fearing any of the Obſtacles which preſented themſelves. Theſe were conſiderable, ſince, to ſucceed in an Enterprize which had ſo frequently miſcarried, it was neceſſary, not only to ſettle a new Spaniſh Colony in California, and to ſupport it ; but alſo to provide Ships for carrying the neceſſary Proviſions thither ; and afterwards preſerve an open and free Correſpondence with Mexico, without which it would be abſolutely impoſſible for the new Colony to ſubſiſt. Theſe Difficulties, and many others which I forbear to mention, would have been judged inſuperable to any Man, except one who relied much more on the Protection of Heaven than on the Aſſiſtance of Men. He was not deceived in his Expectations ; for Don John Cavallero y Ocio, Commiſſary of the Inquiſition and of the Cruſade, to whom he communicated his Deſign, promiſed to aſſiſt him ; and Don Pedro Gil de la Sierpé, Treasuſurer of the Port of Acapulco, engaged to furniſh him with Ships.

Father Salvatierra, being aſſured of theſe Succours, ſet out for the Provinces of Cinaloa, Sonora, and Taromara, in ſearch of Miſſionaries and other worthy Perſons to form this Colony. In his Journey he travelled over the Mountains of Cinipas and Guazaperez, moſt of whoſe Inhabitants he had formerly converted. Theſe Chriſtians, who conſidered him as their Father, received him with the higheſt Demonſtrations of Joy,
which

which however was turned to the deepest Sorrow, when they found that he was only travelling thro' their Country. After having exhorted them to lead a devout and innocent Life, he was coming down their Mountains, in order to take Shipping, when Advice was brought, that the Nations of the Province of Taromara, who could not be prevailed upon to abandon their old Superstitions, had just before taken up Arms, with a full Resolution to extirpate the Spaniards, and all such of their Countrymen as were Christians.

This unforeseen Insurrection disconcerted the Designs of Father Salvatierra; and defeated most of the Measures he had taken for his Voyage to California. Father Kino, who was to bear him Company, wrote him Word, that it would not be proper for him to leave his Mission of Sonora in so delicate a Conjunction. Many Persons who had agreed to go with him into California, and assist in settling this new Colony, were stopt by this Insurrection, which gave the Spaniards great Uneasiness; so that he now was abandon'd by most of those on whom he chiefly relied.

However, these several Obstacles could not quite dispirit him; therefore, the Instant he heard that the Ships furnished by the Treasurer of Acapulco were arrived on the Coasts of Cinaloa, he went thither, and embarked the 10th of October, 1697. He set sail on the Morrow; and after encountring several Dangers, during two Days, the Ship on which he was aboard arrived in Sight of California, opposite to the Mountains called The Virgins. They landed at the Bay of Conception, where Father Salvatierra said Mass; but this not being judged a convenient Situation, they made no Stay there, nor at St. Bruno, where they found only salt Water. Lastly, after casting Anchor before the Island Coronados, they landed the 18th of October at a Place called Concho. The Father and his Companions gave the Indians the highest Testimonies of Friendship, to which these seemed, at first,

to make the sincerest Returns ; but this was only with a Design of surprizing the Spaniards, and cutting them to Pieces, which they would certainly have done, had not their Treachery been discovered and punished. 'Twas no small Consolation to Father de Salvatierra, who did not expect to have a Companion for many Years, to see arrive, soon after him, Father Picolo, an old Missionary of the Province of Taromara, a Person eminent for his Virtues and his Zeal. These two apostolical Men, who, by long Experience, were become very skilful in their Ministry, began then to labour vigorously at the Conversion of the Californians. The Relation I here send you, and which forms one of the chief Parts of this Collection, will tell you the Blessings Heaven has been pleased to bestow on their Endeavours. Father Picolo, above-mentioned, drew it up by the express Order of the royal Council of Guadalaxara, to whom it was presented the 10th of February, 1702.

King Philip V. being told, upon his Accession to the Throne, of the Progress which the Gospel made in California, wrote immediately about it to the Archbishop of Mexico, who was Viceroy and Captain-General of New Spain, 'till such Time as a new Viceroy should be appointed, in the Room of Count de Montezuma. The Catholic King's Letter is dated at Madrid, the 17th of July, 1701. He therein observes to the Prelate, that being informed, by the Letters of Count de Montezuma his Predecessor, of the Success which Heaven was pleased to bestow on the Labours of the Jesuits, both in their Missions of the Provinces of Cinaloa, of Sonora, and New Biscay, and in those lately established by them in the wide-extended Country of California, his Majesty desires that those Missions may be protected and increased, for the Glory of the Church, and the Salvation of Mens Souls ; and, for this Purpose, commands, that over and above what is given in his Name, towards the Missions of Cinaloa, Sonora, and New Biscay ; the proper Persons may likewise furnish whatever

is necessary for the new Mission of California. He further requires, that an exact State of its present Condition be sent to him ; as likewise of the several Expedients which might be employed, not only for supporting a Work so advantageous to both Church and State ; but for strengthening and improving it as much as possible.

But farther. His Majesty, as a Proof how strongly desirous he is of the Conversion of the People in question, ends his Letter to the Archbishop of Mexico, in manner following. " I command you to give the necessary Orders, that the Succours I mentioned may be got ready with all possible Diligence ; and that the Jesuits may proceed in their Enterprize with the same Vigour as they began it. I likewise command you to thank, in my Name, all such pious Persons as have contributed, by their Alms, to the first establishment of these Missions ; and to tell them, that I am touch'd with the Zeal they discover for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Service they have done me on this Occasion. Urge them, by my Example, to contribute still more to a Work, so holy in its Nature, and so agreeable to Heaven". With this Letter his Majesty sent another to the royal Council of Guadalaxara, on which these Missions depend.

But whilst Fathers de Salvatierra and Picolo, were thus labouring about the Middle of California, whither they went by Sea, Providence so ordered it, that Father Kino, a German Jesuit, attempted to discover a new Way thither, northward, by Land.

This is the Father above-mentioned, who entering California in 1683, in order to preach the Gospel there, was obliged to quit it, with the Spaniards, some Time after. Being solicitous of making new Conquests every Year in the Kingdom of Christ, he advanced, in 1698, northward along the Sea, as far as the Mountain of Sancta Clara. There, observing that the Sea ran from East to West ; instead of following its Course farther, he entered the Country ; when tra-

356 TRAVELS of the JESUITS.

velling always from South-East to North-West, he discovered, in 1699, the Banks of the Rio azul, or blue River, which after receiving the Waters of the River Hila, runs and discharges its own from East to West, into the great River Colorado, or of the North. He cross'd the blue River; and in 1700, arriv'd near the River Colorado, when crossing it, he was greatly surpriz'd, in 1701, to find himself in California; and to hear that, about thirty or forty Leagues from the Place where he then was, the Colorado, after forming a Bay of a pretty long Extent, empties itself into the Sea, on the Eastern Side of California, which thereby appears to be separated from America, only by this River *.

The Progress of this Discovery is seen in a very sensible Manner, in the Map † lately drawn by Father Kino, who is very well skill'd in the Mathematicks. Father Bartholomew Alcazan, who teaches those Sciences in the Imperial College at Madrid, was pleas'd to communicate it to us, together with that of the new Philippine Islands; another Discovery of no less Importance than that in question, and which I also will send you.

I am, &c.

LE GOBIEN.

* According to this Account, the Form of California should be altered in Moll's, and other Maps, and not be drawn as an Island. 'Tis great Pity, that as the Jesuits have so many Opportunities of making Discoveries, they should not always give us such Accounts, as may be depended upon. But 'tis often their Interest, I suppose, not to be faithful in Descriptions.

† This Map is inserted here.

Father

Father PETER MARTIN, to Father LE
GOBIEN.

*Camien-naken-patty, in the Kingdom of
Madura, 1 June, 1700.*

Reverend Father,

I Embarked at *Pondicheri*, about the End of *September*, 1699, on board a *French Man of War*, commanded by *Chevalier des Augers*, who headed a small Squadron, and very obligingly offer'd to land me on the Coast of *Travancor*. Had the Wind been favourable, we might have been able to double *Cape Comorin* in fifteen or twenty Days; but it was so contrary that we were obliged, during a Month, to combat with Storms. To add to our Misfortunes, our Ship's Company began to be indispos'd again; they not being perfectly recovered of the Sicknefs with which they had been afflicted in *Negrailles* *. However, we lost but six or seven Persons, which was owing to the Care *Mr. des Augers* took of the Sick, who were furnish'd with all Things necessary. This Officer, who was distinguished for his Piety no less than for his Valour, took equal Care both of Soul and Body; so that the Feast of *All-Saints* happening in our Voyage, he perform'd his Devotions; and gave me the Consolation to see almost the whole Ship's Company, whether sick or well, join in them. In fine, after sailing forty Days, we discovered the Mountains of *Cape Comorin*, which the first Voyages undertaken by the *Portuguese* have render'd so famous.

I intended to land there, but a much stronger Gale rising in the Night, we found, next Morning,

* *An Island, near the Coast of Pegu.*

that we had gone upwards of fifteen Leagues above the Cape. Tho' the Coast was all woody, and we could not see so much as one Habitation, I desired Chevalier *des Augers* to land me with two of our Fathers, (an *Italian* and a *Portuguese*) who also were going to *Travancor*, to desire Leave to engage in the Mission of *Madura*. The Chevalier was so good as to send out the Pinnace mann'd, to defend us, if necessary, against the Pirates, who usually infest these Coasts. Being not much above three Leagues from Shore, we imagin'd it would be easy for us to land; but found this the more difficult the nearer we drove to Shore. The Ocean broke round us with great Impetuosity, and we cou'd not see any Place where we might land with Safety; so that the Officer (the Chevalier's Nephew) who commanded the Pinnace, wou'd have carry'd us back to the Ship, had he not spied, after coasting several Leagues, a pretty thick Smoke in the Woods; and, a little after, a Fisherman sitting on a Catimaron, or several thick Pieces of Wood fastened together in Form of a Raft.

As this Fisherman suffer'd himself and his Nets to be carry'd at the Pleasure of the Waves, we made directly towards him; and tho' he did his utmost to shun us, imagining we were Pirates, we nevertheless soon got so near, that he was forc'd to come up to us. However, his Fears chang'd into extraordinary Emotions of Joy, when he perceiv'd, in our Pinnace, three Fathers like to those who superintend the *Christians* on the Coast of *Malabar*; and saw me present him a Pair of Beads. He kiss'd them over and over, often making the Sign of the Cross, whence we found this honest Man was a *Christian*. He said, that we must cast Anchor at the very Place we were then at; for that our Pinnace would certainly be stav'd to Pieces, in case we ventur'd nearer the Shore. He told us, that in
the

Place where we saw Smoke, there was a little Town, most of whose Inhabitants were *Christians*; that he himself would go and inform them of our Arrival, and that they would gladly put out a Boat to fetch us. This they did soon after, we perceiving several Men come out of the Wood, and put to Sea in a Canoo, each Side of which was supported by Rafts, to prevent its overturning. This Precaution was necessary, for otherwise, we should never have dared to venture in so crazy a Vessel. This Canoo was only the Bark of a Tree, eight or ten Foot long, and two Foot wide, so that our Feet trembled as we were stepping into it. Once it turn'd on a sudden; but, happily, there were only some Cloaths in it, which indeed were spoil'd. In fine, I can affirm, that tho' I have been expos'd to very great Perils in the *Mediterranean*, the *Black Sea*, and that of *India*, I yet was never in greater Danger of losing my Life than at this Time. As we drew near the Shore in the Canoo, one after another, the good People who were come to meet us, plunged into the Water; when carrying off at once the Vessel, the Pilot, and the Missionary, they convey'd us to the Strand upon their Shoulders. In this manner we landed at *Travancor*.

Being all three on Shore, we fell on our Knees, and thanked the Almighty for having preserved us, and then kiss'd the Ground which had formerly been sanctified by *St. Francis Xavier*. Tho' 'twas but about Noon, yet the Sun had already scorched the Sands on which we were forced to walk; and these were so vastly hot, that they soon grew insupportable. As we felt more and more Pain every Step we took, it at last grew so violent, that we were forc'd to take our Hats off, and put them, for some Time, under our Feet, to prevent their being quite burnt. But this easing of our Feet, made it very painful to our Heads, as you will naturally imagine.

And now the *Indians*, our Guides, perceiving that we were almost spent, struck into a Wood; but here we met with nothing except Brambles and Briars, which stuck in our Feet, and tore our Legs. The *Italian* Father, who was but lately recovered from a Fit of Sickness, suffer'd much more than my Companion and I. To conclude, after crossing the Wood, we came to a little Church, the Inside of which was very neat, tho' merely a Hut of Earth cover'd with Straw. The only Ornament of the Altar was a little Image of the blessed Virgin. After offering up our Prayers to Heaven, and taking a slight Repast of a few Herbs boil'd in Water, and some Cocoa Nuts which the *Christians* gave us, we set out again in the Evening; and after travelling about a League, came to the House of Father *Emanuel Lopez*, a Jesuit, who has the Direction of Part of the *Christians* of *Travancor*. This Missionary has been employ'd upwards of fifty Years in the Conversion of the Inhabitants of *Malabar*; and is the last Jesuit who wore, in *Madura*, our *European* Habit. After staying two Days with this charitable Missionary, we continued our Journey along the Coast, which appear'd populous enough; but among this great Number of People, few of them have turned *Christians*, except those belonging to the Caste or Tribe of Fishermen.

Tho' you have often heard the Word *Caste*, you perhaps do not know the full Import of it. *Caste* implies an Assemblage of several Families of the same Rank or Profession. This Distinction is found properly only in the Empire of *Mogul*, in the Kingdom of *Bengal*, in the Island of *Ceylon*, and in the great Peninsula of *India* opposite to it, of which we are now speaking. There are four principal Castes, that of the *Bramins**, being the first

* According to the *Danish* Missionaries, these *Bramins* form a separate Tribe among the *Malabarians*, as the *Levites* antiently

first and the noblest; that of the *Rajas* *, who boast their being descended from various royal Families among the *Jews*. These *Bramins* marry only in their own Tribe, and are a great Burthen to the Public, they being all maintain'd by the Liberality of the Laity, who are so blind as to believe, that they are descended from the God *Biruma*, and therefore are very holy Men. They are so proud, and artful at the same time, as to cherish this Ignorance of the People, by not holding any Correspondence with the Vulgar, for Fear of defiling themselves. Some of these *Bramins* withdraw from the Society of Mankind, there being Anchorets among them, who pass their Lives in Caves and Desarts; and yet they are a most wicked Set of Men; they believing that all Things, how abominable soever, are permitted to themselves. The People are yet so blind, as to fancy they shall become holy by partaking in their Crimes, or bearing with any Outrage from them. They are great Impostors, they inventing new Fables daily, and making them pass among the Vulgar, for so many incomprehensible Mysteries. One of their Artifices, is to persuade the Vulgar that their Idols eat like Men; and, in order that they may be plentifully provided with good Cheer, they make them of a gigantic Figure, particularly with a huge Paunch. If the People fail in these Offerings, with which the *Bramins* maintain their Families, they threaten them with the Anger of the Gods. The People believe that there is something divine in a Cow; so that happy is the Man who can get himself sprinkled with the Ashes of a Cow, burnt by a *Bramin*. The Man who, in his expiring Moments, lays hold of a Cow's Tail, and dies with it betwixt his Hands, thinks himself as happy as any one who was to be buried in a Capuchin's Gown: For the Soul, when thus assisted, quits the Body purified; and sometimes returns into the Body of a Cow, which is considered as a mighty Blessing, and never indulged but to great Spirits, who despise Life, and die generously, either by throwing themselves from a Precipice, by leaping into a lighted Pile, or by flinging themselves under the holy Chariot, to be trampled to death by the Idols, whilst they are carrying in Triumph about the Town: It being declared, that the Souls of wicked Men will, in their next Nativity, animate the Bodies of Swine, Dogs, or some such filthy Creatures. From this Belief of Transmigration, they religiously abstain from the Flesh of all living Creatures, for fear they otherwise might feed upon a Body, inform'd with a Soul which before had animated a Parent, or some near Relation. They boast of a divine Law sent them down from Heaven. See *Thirty-four Conferences betwixt the Danish Missionaries, &c.* Translated by Mr. Philips. London, 1719, 8vo.

* A Name given to certain *Indian* Sovereigns. This Sect is often call'd, in *English*, the *Rajaputes*.

milies;

milies; next the Castes of the *Shootres* *, and lastly that of the *Parias*. Each of these Castes is subdivided into several Branches, some of which are nobler than the rest. The Castes of the *Shootres* is the most extensive, and has the greatest Number of Branches; for under the Name of *Shootres* are comprehended Painters, Writers, Taylors, Carpenters, Masons, Weavers, &c. Every Trade is confin'd to its Caste, and may not be exercis'd by any but those whose Parents follow'd it; and consequently a Taylor's Son can't turn Painter, nor a Painter's Son a Taylor †. However, there are certain Professions common to all the Castes, those, for Instance, of the Trader or Soldier. Several Castes, but not all, are allow'd to plough and cultivate the Ground. Tho' the Castes of the *Parias* is the only one consider'd as infamous, and whose several Individuals are scarce allow'd to have any Concern in the Duties of social Life; nevertheless, there are certain Professions which debase those who exercise them almost to the Rank of *Parias*. Thus a Shoemaker, and every Man who is any Ways concern'd with Leather; and, in many Places, Fishermen, and Shepherds, are consider'd as *Parias*.

The *Portugueze* not knowing, at their first settling in this Country, the Difference between the higher and lower Castes, did not scruple to treat indifferently with them all; to take *Parias* and Fishermen in their Service, and to employ them indiscriminately as their Necessities requir'd. This Behaviour of the first *Portugueze* disgusted the *Indians*, and was highly prejudicial to our holy Religion; they, from that Time, considering the *Europeans* as a contemptible

* *Choutres* in French.

† According to this Regulation, it would be impossible for the Arts which depend on the Genius to flourish among this People.

People; and fancying that the having the least Dealings with them would be dishonourable. Had the wise Precautions been used, at first, which have been employ'd for near these hundred Years in *Madura*, the *Portugueze* might have procured these People to be their Friends, and, by that Means, *Christians*; whereas 'tis now scarce possible for the Missionaries (such, I mean, as pass for *Europeans*) to make any Converts among them.

Of all the apostolical Men who preach'd the Gospel in *India*, none was so successful as St. *Francis Xavier*. He preach'd in the great Peninsula of *India*, at a Time when the *Portugueze* were most flourishing there; when the Power of their Arms gave a great Sanction to their Preaching*. Nevertheless, he did not win over any considerable Castes to Christianity. He himself complains, in his Letters, of the untractable Spirit, and Blindness of the Castes in question; and observes, that such Fathers as were employ'd in instructing them, were almost disheartned from continuing, on Account of the few Converts they made. But those who are acquainted with the Character and Manners of this People, are not surpriz'd to hear of their persisting in an Obstinacy which seems to be so ill grounded. 'Tis not enough that they think a Religion true in itself, they have a Regard to the Instrument thro' which it is convey'd to them; and cannot prevail with themselves to receive any Thing from the *Europeans*; they looking upon them as the most infamous, the most abominable Wretches upon Earth. Accordingly it has been observed, that, among the *Indians*, only three Sorts of Persons have embraced the *Christian* Religion, when inculcated to them by *European* Missionaries who were known to be *Europeans*. The first are those who put them-

* Very possibly, the only Success of their Preaching, was owing to that of their Arms.

selves under the Protection of the *Portugueze*, to secure themselves from the tyrannical Government of the *Mohammedans*. Such were the *Paravas*, or the Inhabitants of the Fishing-coast, who, even before St. *Francis Xavier* came into *India*, call'd themselves *Christians*, tho' they were only such in Name. 'Twas wholly in the View of instructing them in the Christian Faith, that St. *Francis* travelled over this Southern Part of *India*. Secondly, those whom the *Portugueze* had subdued along the Coasts, by Force of Arms, professed at first outwardly the Religion of their Conquerors. These were the Inhabitants of *Salfetto*, and of the Neighbourhood of *Goa*, and of the other Places conquered by the *Portugueze*, on the Western Side of the great Peninsula of *India*. The *Portugueze* forced those to abandon their Castes, and to live after the Manner of the *Europeans*, which exasperated them highly. In fine, the third Sort of *Indians* who turn'd *Christians* at the Time we are speaking of, were either the Dregs of the People or Slaves whom the *Portugueze* purchas'd in the Country, or Persons who had been turn'd out of their Castes for their dissolute Behaviour. 'Twas chiefly on Account of the last mentioned, who were received with as much Tendernefs as any other, upon their turning *Christians*, that the *Indians* conceived so great a Hatred for the *Europeans*. This, joined to the Aversion which a People naturally entertain for those who forced them against their Wills to submit to their Government; and possibly the Remembrance of certain military Expeditions, which perhaps were carried on a little too cruelly *, have made so strong an Impression upon them, as Time may never be able to erase. Some may perhaps imagine, that it

* The Jesuit might have said with a great deal of Cruelty. However, he is uncommonly honest in acknowledging what he does.

is owing to the scarcity of Labourers, or want of Zeal in them, that the Heathen *Indians* of the inland Countries, are not yet become Converts ; but they will presently be undeceived, if they only reflect a little on what follows.

There are, in the City of *Goa*, very near as many Priests and Friars, as of *European* Laity. The Ceremonies of our Religion are observed in it with as much Splendor, as in the most famous Cathedrals in *Europe*. Nevertheless, tho' there are computed to be upwards of forty or fifty thousand Idolaters in this great City, scarce an hundred are baptized annually ; and most of these are Orphans, whom the Viceroy forces away from their Relations. Nor can it be ascribed to the want of Labourers, or of Knowledge in the *Heathens*. Several of them hearken to the Truth, feel, and acknowledge its Power ; but then they would think it infamous to submit to the divine Light, so long as it shall be administered to them by vile Instruments, who, in their Opinion, are defiled with a thousand mean, ridiculous, and abominable Customs. For this Reason ; the only Expedient found to bring them over to Christianity is, for those who inculcate it to them, to quit their own Habit and Manners, and to conform to those of the *Indians*. 'Twill be impossible to make any Converts along the Coasts, where the *Europeans* are settled ; and the only proper Places for such Conversions, are the inland Countries, where the Christian Name was never heard of. In crossing the Kingdom of *Travancor*, where Idolatry has taken such deep Root, it was the utmost Consolation to me, to see Crosses set up all along the Shore, and a great number of Christian Churches. I afterwards arriv'd at *Topo*, call'd the College of *Travancor*, the usual Residence of Father *Andrew Gomez*, Principal of the Province of *Malabar*.

This

This College stands in one of the most inconsiderable Towns of this Coast; is built with Earth, and only cover'd with the Leaves of the wild Palm Tree. The Church, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, is as plain as the House; and the Life which the Fathers lead, exactly suitable to the Poverty of both. I was wonderfully edified to see Men, so venerable for their Age and Labours, inhabit such wretched Huts; and unprovided, in a great measure, with the several Necessaries of Life. The Glory of God, which is their only Object, keeps up a perfect Harmony and Tranquillity among them, tho' otherwise they are expos'd to the Insults of the *Heathens*, who are the Natives of that Country, as well as to the Attacks of the Pirates who infest those Seas; and have, more than once, demolish'd their Hovels, and forced away the few Goods they found in them.

As soon as the Provincial had granted my Request, *viz.* of my engaging in the Mission of *Madura*, I applied myself assiduously to the Study of the *Tamul*, or *Malabar* Language, that I might soon be enabled to enter upon my Mission. The Fathers of that Province having wisely ordered, that no Person, except he be well skill'd in the Language of the Country, shall be permitted to teach the Christian Religion in *Madura*. Was not this Precaution observed, we should soon be discovered, and all our Designs frustrated. I had not an Opportunity, in *Topo*, of improving in the Language as expeditiously as I desir'd; and 'tis not spoke with Propriety enough on the Sea Coasts, these being inhabited only by rude, ignorant People. For this Reason, the Provincial was pleased to send me to *Cotate*, where I might have more Leisure, and a better Opportunity of learning the Language. A Circumstance that gave me the greatest Pleasure was, my meeting there with Father *Maynard*, who has

the Care of that Church. Being born in that Country, of *French* Parents, he is perfectly well skill'd in both Languages.

Cotate is a pretty large Town, standing at the Foot of the Mountains of *Cape Comorin*, whence it is distant only about four Leagues. This Town, which is the Boundary of the Kingdom of *Travancor* southward, is as much expos'd, as the rest of the Country, to the Incursions of the *Badages*, who come almost every Year from the Kingdom of *Madura*, to plunder the Territories of the King of *Travancor*, who is one of the most inconsiderable Princes in *India*, and tributary to the King of *Madura*. But as he never pays this Tribute willingly, the *Badages* are sometimes forc'd to enter his Kingdom, Sword in Hand, in order to levy it. He yet might easily secure himself from Insults, and even render his Kingdom inaccessible on that Side, as the *Badages* can scarce come into it, except by a narrow Pass between Mountains *. Was this Pass shut

* Many of these petty Sovereigns, or *Rajas*, in *India*, about *Malabar* and *Cormandel*, especially such of them as inhabit the Mountains and inaccessible parts of these Countries, maintain their Liberty, and never submitted to the *Mogul's* Yoke, who otherwise had subjected all the plain Country, from the Capital of his Dominions, as far as *Cape Comorin*; the *Mogul* having, about a Century since, conquered the Kingdoms of *Golconda* and *Bisnagar*. The Nations who inhabit *Travancor*, *Madura*, and the Mountains of *Baligate*, &c. are the original Inhabitants of the Country; they being drove to the Hills by the Invasions of the *Egyptians*, *Moors* and *Arabians*. In the Mountains of *Baligate* live most of the *Rajas*, who never submitted to the *Mogul*; and tho' consider'd by Travellers as *Barbarians*, they yet ought not to pass for such, since the Bravery they exert from time to time, is only in Defence of their Liberties, against the *Moguls*. These *Moguls* having been drove out of *Tartary* about 300 Years ago, over-run all the Continent of *India*, from *Tartary* quite to *Cape Comorin*; driving thence all the *Moors* and *Arabs*, as these had before drove out the *Indians*, the original Inhabitants. Nevertheless, the *Moguls* have not yet been able, as was observed above, to conquer many of the *Rajas* who inhabit the Mountains;
so

shut up by a strong Wall, and a small Body of Troops lodg'd there, it would be impossible for the most powerful Army to force it. This would secure *Cotate*, and the rest of the Country, from being plunder'd almost yearly; otherwise it will be impossible for the King of *Travancor* to make head against so great a number of Enemies, whom he never overcame but once, and that by their Imprudence. This Incident is singular enough to merit a Place here.

The *Badages* had advanced as far *Corculam*, the Capital and chief Fortrefs of *Travancor*; and the King himself, by a turn in Politicks, which perhaps is not to be paralleled, had put the Citadel of it into their Hands. This Prince, being more judicious and brave than the *Indian* Princes are commonly found, was grieved to see his Kingdom pos-

so far from it, many of these petty Monarchs join in Confederacies against the *Mogul*; when coming down from their Hills, they plunder many Towns subject to him, whence they have been consider'd as cruel and barbarous, whereas these Hostilities were only in Return for Injuries they had receiv'd. None but the *Moguls* give them the Name of cruel; for such *Europeans* as visit them, and among others the Jesuits, declare them to be kind and humane. 'Tis said, that the common Danger unites many of these several Nations in the South of the *Mogul's* Empire, and maintains such a Harmony among them, that they all seem as one Family. Their *Rajas* govern them with the utmost Gentleness, who in return, are highly venerated by the People. No Contentions ever break out among them, on Account of Religion. They observe the greatest Simplicity, whether with respect to Buildings, Dress, or Food; they subsisting commonly on Milk, Rice, Herbs and Roots, and eating very little Meat. Neither Wine nor Beer is to be found in their Country, Water being their common Drink. The common People sometimes distil a small kind of Arrack from Rice; but they are never seen to be intoxicated with Liquor. As they don't travel into other Countries, they consequently cannot introduce any foreign Vices. . . . Such is the Account of these Nations, as given by some Travellers; nevertheless, these *Rajas* must sometimes be at War with one another, as is manifest from the present Letter of Father *Martin*.

fess'd by eight Ministers, who, from time im-
 memorial, leaving the Prince the bare Title of
 Sovereign, usurp'd the whole Authority, and di-
 vided among themselves all the Revenues of the
 Crown. To rid himself of these imperious Sub-
 jects, who are now become his Masters, he made a
 secret Treaty with the *Badages*, by which he pro-
 mis'd to deliver up to them part of his Dominions,
 together with his Fortrefs, upon Condition, that
 they should free him from his Ministers, who kept
 him in a dependent State. 'Twou'd have been the
 height of Folly in him, thus to receive the Enemy
 in the Heart of his Dominions; and, by attempt-
 ing to break eight small Chains, to have loaded
 his Neck with one infinitely more weighty, had he
 not at the same Time so contriv'd Matters, as to be
 able to drive the *Badages* out of the Kingdom, when
 they should have put him in a Condition to recover
 the regal Power. The *Badages* made their Incurfi-
 ons, as usual, without meeting with almost the least
 Opposition, and advanced as far as his capital City;
 where the Monarch, with those Forces which he
 had won over, join'd them, and gave them up the
 Place. Immediately one or two of the usurping
 Ministers were put to Death, upon which the rest
 either fled, or saved their Lives by dint of Money.
 The Prince also pretended to be seiz'd with Fear;
 but, instead of hiding himself, he drew together
 his scatter'd Forces, and, on a sudden, besieg'd the
 Fortrefs of *Corculam*. The *Badages*, who did not
 expect to be thus attack'd, were overpowered,
 on which Occasion a great number of them were
 kill'd in the City; and the rest fled in Disorder to-
 wards their own Country. The Monarch pursued
 them, when the People joining with him, a great
 Slaughter was made of the *Barbarians*, before they
 had Time to recover themselves, so that very few
 escap'd to inform their Countrymen of the News.

The King of *Travancor*, after this Victory, returned in Triumph to his capital City, and took the Reins of Government into his own Hands. He was beginning to strike Terror into his Enemies, when such of his former Ministers, whose Lives he had spar'd, and left them wherewithal to live honourably, engag'd in a Conspiracy, and caus'd him to be assassinated as he was one Day coming out of his Palace. However, this valiant Prince made them pay dear for his Life, he killing two of the Murtherers, and wounding a third in a desperate Manner; but at last he himself fell, his Body being quite cover'd with Wounds. He was greatly regretted by all his Subjects, and especially by the *Christians*, whom he had lov'd and favour'd on all Occasions. These Ministers who had form'd the Conspiracy against him, again seiz'd on the Government; and, to preserve some Image of the regal Power, they placed a Sister of the King's on the Throne. She is but the Shadow of a Queen*; and, to give an Idea of her Authority, and the Strength of the Kingdom, I shall present you with the following Instance. Some Fishermen having taken a Buffalo, which happen'd to fall in the Sea, resolv'd to sell it for their own Profit; but the Queen's Officers seizing it, sent it to the Princess in question as a considerable Present. However, she did not keep it long; for one of the Governors having a Fancy for it, sent in the most haughty manner to demand it. The Queen being greatly surpriz'd at the Minister's Incivility, was yet forc'd to send him the Buffalo, and to beg his Pardon for presuming to accept of it without his Consent.

The Tragedy described above was perpetrated about two or three Years before my Arrival at Co-

* What our Jesuit here calls Queen or King, are Princes of very little Figure or Power, who don't seem to deserve that Name. This Story of the Queen and the Buffalo might be pleasantly burlesqued.

Cotate. This City, one of the most considerable of this small Kingdom, is divided among the Ministers, so that the Queen has not the least Power there. Our Church stands in the District belonging to the chief of these Ministers. The building of that Church took up above twelve or fifteen Years, whereas it might have been finished in six Months; a Circumstance owing to the Venality of these Officers, who worshipping no other God than Interest, used to interrupt the Building very often, purposely to extort Money, by which Means it has cost four Times its real Value; it being considerable only on Account of the Spot whereon it was raised; for the Chancel and Altar are built over the very Place, where stood the Hut whither St. Francis Xavier used to retire every Evening, after having preached in the Day-time to these Idolaters. One Night they set Fire to the Hut, in hopes of burning St. Francis alive; but though the Hovel was consumed, the Tenant of it received no hurt. I arrived at *Cotate* a few Days before the Festival of St. Francis Xavier; and was an Eye-witness of the vast Multitudes who come hither annually on that Occasion; People flocking from all Parts within Twenty or Thirty Leagues round. A few Days after the Solemnization of this Saint's Festival, an Idolater came to his Church, and there made a Vow*; soon after which I went back to *Topo*; I
having

* 'Tis related as follows by the Father, Author of this Voyage. Five hundred or a thousand of these People often join together and make a sort of Lottery. Every Person puts, monthly, into a Purse a *Fanon*, worth about Five-pence French Money. When the Sum fixed upon is raised, the several Contributors assemble on the Day and at the Place appointed. Every Person sets down his Name in a separate Bit of Paper, after which all the Names are thrown into an Urn. They then are shewn a long Time, after which a Child puts his Hand into the Urn, when the Person whose Paper is first drawn

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having promised to return to *Cotate* at *Christmas*, in order to apply myself assiduously to the Study of the *Malabar* Language. I made a great Progress therein, in a short Time, by the Assistance of Father *Maynard*, who took surprising Pains with me.

I

receives all the Money. By this Play (a very innocent One *) a Person who was very poor before, may be raised to good Circumstances in an Instant. An Idolater having put into two of these Lotteries, was earnestly desirous of getting the Prize in both; and, for this Purpose, came one Day to the Church of *Cotate*, promising to give Five *Fanons* to it, provided the Saint would be propitious to him with regard to the first Lottery. Flush'd with the hopes of Success, he came to the Place where the Parties concerned were assembled; and there declared, aloud, the Vow he had made the preceding Day to *St. Francis*. People laugh'd at him for his idle Hopes, but were greatly surpriz'd when they saw his Paper was the first which came out of the Urn. He took the Money, and went immediately to the Church; thank'd his Benefactor, and paid the Debt contracted by him. He then added, that if he could be so fortunate as to get the other Prize by his Intercession, he would gladly offer up the same Sum he had given just before. His Confidence was so great, that coming a second Time into the Place where the People were assembled, he told his Companions with a Smile, that it would be to no Purpose for them

* These are the Father's Words; but in my humble Opinion it may be considered in a quite different Light, as it creates in People a love for Gaming. The like Observation I made at Paris, where there is a monthly Lottery, (permitted by the Government) carried on by the Curé or Rector of the Church of *St. Sulpice*, which is the richest Rectory in Paris. The present Rector (in 1741) has a strong Passion, for enlarging and embellishing his Parish-Church, which, when finished, will have all the Magnificence of a Cathedral. His way of raising Money is by a monthly Lottery; and as each Ticket is purchased for a small Price, Servants, Shoe-Cleaners, and the lowest of the Populace are enabled to put into it. As there are one or two very great Prizes, these are sometimes won by Persons in low Life, which sets all the rest a-gog; so that some Servant-Maids sell their very Petticoats to put into the Lottery; and, probably this may prompt too many of them to rob their Masters and Mistresses.—In other Respects the Rector in question bears an excellent Character, and is famous for his Charity; but surely this Lottery of his is of a pernicious Tendency.

I now set out, by order of the Provincial, for *Tala*, on the Fishing-Coast. In my Journey, I observed two Things which had escaped me, when I doubled *Cape Comorin*, by Sea. The first is, a Church built in Honour of the Blessed Virgin, on the Southern Point of this Cape; and below this Point a Rock, which projects into the Sea, and

‘to entertain the least hopes of winning, because the great Father of the *Christians*, who had favoured him in the first Lottery, would be equally indulgent to him in the second. Hearing these Words, some dreaded the Saint’s Power, others laughed at it; and several laid Wagers with him that he would miss his Aim; however he was so sanguine, that he staked the whole Sum he had gained by the former Prize. Immediately the Papers were writ; were put into the Urn, and this being shaken, the Child thrust in his Hand, when, to the great Astonishment of the Spectators, his Paper came first out; which exasperated the Parties concerned to such a Degree, that they would not permit him to contribute any more with them. However, this did not give him any Uneasiness, he having already gained a considerable Sum; but he did not fail to come to the Church, and there faithfully discharge the Vow made by him, and he even bestowed more than he had promised. You’ll naturally imagine that he was exhorted to turn *Christian*; and to acknowledge the God, by whose Power the great Father * had assisted him in so miraculous and liberal a Manner; but he made us no Reply, nor was he converted. It must be confessed, that the Blindness of these Idolaters is very surprising.’ I thought proper to insert this Miracle, as our Jesuit is pleased to term it, as being of a very singular kind. Methinks this Father forgot himself, when he ventured to let such a Relation be printed in *France*, whence it might spread all over *Europe*. So silly a Story might indeed be palm’d to good Purpose, upon a Parcel of ignorant *Heathens*; but to imagine that any *European* of Sense and Education would give the least Credit to it, must be as absurd as the Incident itself. A multitude of Reflexions might be made on this Occasion; but I shall only observe, that it perhaps is Blasphemy in the Father, when he tells us, of the *Idolaters* being exhorted to turn *Christian*, and to acknowledge the God by whose Power, &c. Does this agree with the Simplicity of the Precepts laid down in the Gospel?

What should be great, these turn’d to Farce. PRIOR.

* St. Francis Xavier.

forms a kind of Island there. 'Twas on this Rock that the *Christians* of the Fishing-Coast formerly withdrew, to avoid the close Pursuit of the *Moors*. There they passed several Months during which they subsisted wholly on the Shell-Fish, and other kind of Fish they took at the Foot of this Rock. A Cross has been since set up there, and is seen at a great Distance. The second Thing I observed is a vast Stone Pagod, a little higher up the Land than the Church of the Virgin, but standing on the same Point. As the Pagod stands North and South, and directly opposite to the Mountains, which separate the Kingdoms of *Travancor* and *Madura*; if a Line were drawn through this Pagod, and those Mountains * which are but a League and half from it, there would be an exact Division between these two Kingdoms; that of *Travancor* extending along the Western Coast, and the other of *Madura* along the Eastern, but much higher up the Country, Northward.

The Fishing-Coast, so famous for the Pearls found upon it, begins directly at Cape *Comorin*, to the Point called *Ramanakoiel* †, where the Island of *Ceylon* is joined almost to the Main-land, by a Chain of Rocks called, by some *Adam's Bridge*. The *Heathens* relate, that this Bridge was built anciently by Apes. They fancy that these Animals, being more brave and industrious than those of the present Age, built a Passage for themselves from the Continent to the Island of *Ceylon*: That they then seized upon it, and delivered the Wife of one of their

* These seem to be the Mountains of *Gate* or *Balligate*. I don't find *Travancor* in our Maps. According to our Father's Reason, the Kingdom of *Travancor* is on the *Malabar* side, and that of *Madura* on the *Cormandel* side; and both divided by the Mountains above-mentioned.

† This is an Island, but two Leagues in Length and one in Breadth. In it stands a Temple dedicated to *Rama*.

Gods who had been forced away thither. A sure Circumstance is that the Sea, when highest, is not above four or five Foot deep in this Place; so that none but Boats, or very flat-bottomed Vessels can pass between those Rocks. All this Fishing-Coast is inaccessible to *European* Ships, because the Sea is forever breaking in upon it; and Ships can winter only at *Tutucurin*, that Road being sheltered by two Islands. As the Fishing-Coast is famous all over the World, I imagined I should meet with several large Towns upon it. Formerly there were a great Number; but ever since the Power of the *Portuguese* has been weakned in *India*, and they have not been able to protect this Coast, the most considerable Towns are abandoned. There now remain but certain poor Villages, the chief whereof are *Tala*, *Manapar*, *Alandaley*, *Pundicael*, and some others. But I must except *Tutucurin*, this being a City of above Fifty Thousand Inhabitans, partly *Christians*, and the rest Idolaters *.

When the *Portuguese* first came into *India*, the *Paravas*, or Inhabitants of the Fishing-Coast, groaned under the Government of the *Moors*, who had seized upon Part of the Kingdom of *Madura*. In this Extremity, their Chief resolved to implore the Assistance of the *Portuguese*; and to put himself, with his whole Caste, under their Protection. The *Portuguese*, who have always been vastly zealous for the Establishment of the *Christian* Religion †, indulged it

* The Coasts about which the Pearl-Fishery is carried on, are generally said to be barren; but we are told that many Thousand People are employed every Season in the Pearl-Fishery; As the *Dutch* are Masters of both Coasts, (though this is denied afterwards by Father *Martin*,) they reap the greatest Benefit by this Fishery; but we are told that the Pearls are not large, and that the Pearl-Fishery on some other Coasts is much more profitable.

† The Fathers should have added, but still infinitely more zealous to get what Riches they could.

him, upon Condition that, they should turn *Christians*, which the *Paravas* promised. This Treaty was no sooner concluded, but the *Portugueze* drove the *Moors* out of the whole Country, and settled themselves in various Places. 'Twas then the *Christian* Religion flourished on the Fishing-Coast, which was owing to the well known Labours of St. *Francis Xavier*, who built a great Number of Churches up and down, all which the *Jesuits* have since governed very carefully. By the Liberty which the *Paravas* were allowed under the *Portugueze*, to trade with their Neighbours, they became rich and powerful; but ever since they failed of the Protection of the *Portugueze* *, they have been oppressed and reduced to extreme Poverty. Their greatest Trade at this Time, is in the Fish they catch, which they carry up into the Country; and exchange for Rice and other necessary Provisions, of which that Coast is wholly unprovided; it being covered merely with a kind of Brambles, with a dry burning Sand, I seeing nothing else in the Space of Twelve Leagues, from Cape *Comorin* to *Tala*; except seven or eight Villages, in each of which is a Church subordinate to that of *Tala*.

After having informed myself of every Thing necessary in this Place, I began the Visitation of my Churches, in order to prepare all the Flock committed to my Care for Confession and the Communion. Observing a very old Church in the Village of *Cuttangeli* to be in a most ruinous Condition, and consequently unsafe, I caused a new One to be built. I was greatly fatigued in my Visitations, and more than once in Danger of being devoured by Tygers, which came out of the Woods in search of Water. These Beasts have made a surprising Havock on the whole Coast this Year. Besides the

* The *Dutch* drove the *Portugueze* out of their Settlements.

Cattle devoured by them, we are told that above seventy Persons have disappeared, all whom, 'tis feared, fell a Prey to those cruel Animals. They were seen to come, every Evening, to the Ponds, which commonly are pretty near to Villages; when woe to such Cattle, Children, or even Men, as happened to come in their way, for nothing escaped them. They struck such a Terror round, that the People used, to watch every Night in their Villages, and light up great Fires. Not a Soul dared to stir out of his own House after it was dark, much less to travel; it being not very safe for People to attempt this even in the Day-time, without there were several in Company. However, this did not prevent my crossing, more than once, vast Forests in the Night, when called upon to administer the Sacraments to poor People who were expiring.

But I always was guarded by a Party of *Christians*, some of whom carried lighted Torches, whilst other beat a Drum, the Sound of which frightens the Tygers, and makes them take to their Heels.

The Forest infested by these Tygers is five or six Leagues long; the rest of the Coast being wholly of Sand, but of a Sort that is vastly troublesome to Travellers. Here I again experienced the Care of Providence. Travelling along the Sea-side in a very dark Night, with two of my Catechists, we came to the Bank of a little Rivers, which I before had crossed without Danger. But now going forward in order to ford it, I fell down on a sudden with the Catechist who supported me, into a great Hole which the Sea had made by scooping away the Sand. We must have perished inevitably, had we not been sustained by the immediate Hand of Heaven. However, no other Harm happened to us, except our being thoroughly soaked, notwithstanding which we went forward to the next Church,

Church, where we returned Thanks to Heaven for our Deliverance. After having visited the several Churches of my District, I returned, in *Easter-Week*, to *Tala*, whither a great Number of *Christians*, from the neighbouring Villages were come.

I now received a Letter from the Provincial, by which I was ordered to prepare for the Mission of *Madura* *. That Moment, I set out for *Topo*, where,

* As frequent mention is made of the *English*, *French*, *Portuguese* and *Dutch* Settlements in these Parts of the World, it may not be improper to take some Notice of the *Danes*, settled at *Tranquebar*, far from *Cape Comorin*, on the *Cormandel* Coast. The *Danes* have a regular Stone Fort, which is surrounded by a deep Moat. The Town which is about two Miles round, is environed with a stout Wall, with Bastions, on which Cannon are mounted. The Houses of the *Europeans* are of Brick or Stone, but those of the *Indians* are made with Clay Walls, and thatched Roofs, as in other *Indian* Towns. The Garrison is not strong; and the Town being besieged about forty Years since (I write this in 1741) by the King of *Tanjour*, would possibly have surrendered, had not the Inhabitants been assisted by the *Dutch*, and secretly by the *English*. With Regard to the *Danish* Missions settled in *Tranquebar*, in 1705, the King of *Denmark*, resolved to send some Missionaries to this Town. The University of *Hall* being desired to furnish able Persons for undertaking so hazardous an Enterprize, Mess. *Zeigenblag* and *Plutsebo*, two young Divines, and Subjects of his *Prussian* Majesty, were appointed for that Purpose. These having embark'd in *November* 1705, arrived at *Tranquebar* in *July* 1706; being unacquainted either with the *Portuguese*, which is usually spoke in the Maritime Towns of *India*, or the *Malabarian* Language, without which it is impossible to convert the *Heathens* of these Countries, (the attempting this by an Interpreter having been found to no Purpose.) They therefore applied themselves to the Study of these Languages, and made so great a Progress in six Months, that they were enabled to understand, and to be understood by the Natives, by which Means they made some Converts the very first Year. When they had attained to a thorough Knowledge of these Languages, they conversed daily with the Idolaters, and opened Charity-Schools for instructing the *Malabarian* Children in the *Christian* Doctrine. They likewise made many Proselytes among such as were of riper Years, preaching the Gospel in their own Lodgings, till at last their Hearers became very numerous. They then built a Church, towards which many pi-

where, after receiving the necessary Orders and Instructions from my Superior, I proceeded in my Journey to *Madura*. After crossing *Cape Comorin* again, I came off *Tutucurin*. This City is very near at an equal Distance between *Cape Comorin* and the Straits

ous *Christians* contributed. They next attempted a Translation of the New Testament, which was printed and dispersed among the *Heathens*, who now read it very attentively in the *Malabarian* Language. The King of *Denmark* has established a College, composed of Ministers of State, Divines and others, to concert the best Measures for strengthening the Labours of the Missionaries. The Society, (in *London*) for propagating *Christian* Knowledge, furnish the Missionaries with Money from Time to Time; and have also made them a Present of a Printing-Press and Paper, to enable them to publish Books for the Service of the *Heathens*; the Missionaries having already printed several Catechetical Pieces, and other small Works, for the Instruction of Youth. As Paper is a dear Commodity in *India*, a Paper-Mill is erected in *Tranquebar*. The Missionaries baptized in a few Years 250 *Heathens*, which is no inconsiderable Acquisition, if we consider the Difficulty of the Undertaking, the few Labourers, and the great Pains and Care they take of their new Converts. They also have done great Service to Posterity, in composing a Grammar and Dictionary in that Language; and have finished their Version of the Old Testament.

This Author adds, ' We may boldly affirm, that these two honest Gentlemen have done more Service to Christ and his Gospel, than the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* have done for these last two hundred Years, in both the *Indies*; for 'tis manifest they have been as careful to conceal from the Knowledge of the poor *Indians*, the rich Mines comprehended in the sacred Volumes of the Old and New Testament, as they have been diligent to find out their rich Mines and precious Stones.' He concludes with observing, that the *Romanists* gain so great a Number of Profelytes merely by Force and Violence; of which the *Mexicans* themselves are as sensible, and as greatly scandalized at their bloody Proceedings, as *Protestants* can possibly be at their horrid Tribunal of the Inquisition. But as for the *Danish* Missionaries, they know of no other Method of converting the *Heathens*, but that employed by the Apostles themselves, viz. Persuasion and convincing Arguments. See *Thirty-four Conferences between the Danish Missionaries, and the Malabarian Bramins, translated by Mr. Philips, 1719*, where we are told, pag. 318, that in 1610, in the Reign of King *Arschudappanaiker*, a *Danish* Admiral came to *Tranquebar*, where he was kindly received

Straits of *Ramanakoiel*. As *Punicael* stands on the Banks of a small River, with two Mouths, Travelers get easily from thence by Water to *Tutucurin*. For this Purpose we need only observe the Tide, which, when going up, carries Passengers from *Punicael*, the first Mouth, to the Place where the two Arms of the River meet; and when the Tide runs down, they go to the second Mouth where *Tutucurin* stands.

Tutucurin appears a handsome Town to those who arrive at it by Sea. We observe several Buildings which are lofty enough, in the two Islands that shelter it; likewise a small Fortrefs built a few Years since by the *Dutch*, to secure themselves from the Insults of the Idolaters, who come from the inland Countries; and several spacious Warehouses built by the Waterside, all which look pretty enough. But the instant the Spectator is landed, all this Beauty vanishes; and he perceives nothing but a large Town, built mostly of Hurdles *. The *Dutch* draw considerable Revenues from *Tutucurin*, though they are not absolute Masters of it. The whole Fishing-Coast belongs partly to the King of *Madura*, and the rest to the Prince of *Marava*, who, not long since, shook of the Yoke of the *Maduran* Monarch, whose Tributary he was. The *Dutch* attempted, some Years since, to purchase, of the Prince of *Marava*, his Right to the Fishing-Coast, and all the Country dependant on it; and, for this Purpose, sent him a splendid Embassy with magnificent Presents. The Prince thought fit to receive the Presents, and pro-

ceived by the Governor, and permitted to build a Fortrefs in it, which the *Danes* have very much improved since.

If the Jesuits might be believed, they themselves employ no other Methods in their Conversions, than those related of the *Danish* Missionaries, who, I hope merit the Character given them above, and of whom further Notice will be taken hereafter.

* The Original is *Palhotes*, which I take to be Hurdles or something of that kind.

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mised fine Things, but has not yet been so good as his Word.

Though the *Dutch* are not Masters of the Coast, they yet have often behaved in such a manner as if it had been entirely subject to them. Some Years since they dispossessed the poor *Paravas* of their Churches, which they turned into Magazines, and lodged their Factors in the Houses of the Missionaries. The Fathers were then forced to withdraw into the Woods, and there build themselves Huts, in order that they might not abandon their Flock, at a Time when their Presence was so necessary.

With Respect to the Trade carried on by the *Dutch* on this Coast, besides the Linens brought to them from *Madura*, and for which they barter the Leather of *Japan*, and the Spices of the *Moluccas*, they gain considerable Advantage by two Fisheries carried on here, that of Pearls and that of the *Xanxus*'s. The *Xanxus* is a vast Shell, like to those which the *Tritons* are represented sounding, in Sculpture and Painting. The *Dutch* are surprisngly jealous of this Trade, insomuch that it would cost any *Indian* his Life, who should dare to sell one of them to any other Persons but such as belong to the *Dutch East-India Company*. They purchase them for a Trifle, and send them to the Kingdom of *Bengal*, where they are sold at a very high Price. These Shells are sawed in proportion to their Breadth. Being round and hollow, they are wrought into Bracelets, which have as bright a Polish as the finest Ivory. Such of them as are fished, (and that in prodigious Quantities) on this Coast, have their Volutes from right to left. If the Idolaters were to take one whose Volutes are from left to right, they would consider it as a Treasure worth Millions; they imagining that one of their Gods was forced to hide himself, when his Enemies pursued him furiously by Sea, in a *Xanxus* of this latter kind.

The *Dutch East-India* Company make a second Advantage by the Pearl-Fishery. They don't undertake the Fishing on their own Account, but permit every Inhabitant of the Country, whether *Christian*, *Heathen*, or *Mohammedan*, to keep as many Fishing-Boats as he pleases, upon Condition that every Boat pay the *Dutch* sixty Crowns, and sometimes more. This Duty arises to a considerable Sum, six or seven Hundred sometimes going upon this Fishery. But all Persons are not allowed to go whithersoever they please; but certain Places are allotted the several Boats. Formerly the *Dutch* used to appoint, as early as the Month of *January*, the Time and Place where the Fishing was to be carried on that Year, without first making any Trial; but as it was often found, that either the Season of the Year, or the Place, was not favourable, and consequently that few Oysters were taken; whence great Loss accrued, as the several Materials for carrying on the Fishing, cost considerable Sums, that Method was changed, and the following is observed.

In the Beginning of the Year, the Company sends ten or twelve Boats to the Place where they intend the Fishing shall be carried on. These Boats separate, when each of the Divers bring up some Thousands of Oysters which they carry to Shore. Every Thousand is opened separately; and the Pearls taken out of them are also laid by themselves. If the Pearls found in a Thousand are worth a Crown, or more, 'tis a Sign the Fishing will be extremely abundant and valuable in that Place; but if the Pearls taken out of a Thousand are worth but half a Crown; as the Profit could not be more than the Charges which the Company would then be put to, they don't fish that Year. But when the Trial has been successful, and the Company have given out that there will be fishing that Season, the whole Coast is crowded, at the Time appointed, with a number-

numberless Multitude of People and Boats, in which Goods of every Kind are brought. The *Dutch* Commissioners come from *Colombo*, Capital of the Island of *Ceylon* *, to preside over the Fishing. The Day it is to begin, a large Cannon is fired very early in the Morning. That Instant all the Boats set out, and make for the Sea, preceded by two *Dutch* Vessels, which cast Anchor on the right and left,

* This large Island lies to the South-west of the Peninsula of *India*, on this Side the *Ganges*; in 1505, the *Portuguese*, headed by *Lawrence Almeida*, landed in this Island. In 1517, they were permitted to make Intrenchments round the Spot where they had settled themselves, but they soon changed these Intrenchments into a Fortrefs. In this manner *Colombo* was built. In 1597, the King of the Island dying without Issue, declared the King of *Portugal* his Heir. In 1623, the King of *Candy* made War upon them, but being defeated, he was obliged in 1632, to accept of a Peace, upon Condition of paying two Elephants annually, by way of Tribute. In 1639, his Son renewed the War, on which Occasion he was assisted by the *Dutch*; and the War lasted till 1644, when a Truce, after eight Years, was concluded. This War breaking out again in 1655, the *Dutch* drove out the *Portuguese*, and are now the only Traders to that Country, the *Dutch* being Masters of most of the Coasts. Some think the Island *Ceylon* was the *Taprobane* of the Antients; that the Garden of *Eden* was here; and that *Adam* was buried upon a very high Mountain in it. Antiently, no Country had a better foreign Trade than this, their Cinnamon inviting the *Egyptians*, *Persians*, and all the *Easterns* thither, once every two or three Years. When the *Portuguese* first arrived at it, they found the *Moors*, who opposed their making any Settlements, for fear they should dispossess them of the Traffic of Cinnamon, with which they had long furnished all *Europe*. However, the *Portuguese* ingratiated themselves with the King of *Ceylon*, and endeavoured to engross the whole Spice Trade to themselves, in order to set what Price they pleased upon it. They afterwards behaved with so much Cruelty, that the King called in the *Dutch* to his Assistance, who driving out the *Portuguese*, and seizing upon their Forts, afterwards dispossessed their confederate King of all the Cinnamon Country. Thus they forced the Monarch into the Mountains, and thereby have engrossed the whole Spice Trade to themselves. These Monarchs of *Ceylon* now bear the utmost Aversion to the *Dutch*, and sometimes butcher their People as they are gathering the Cinnamon.

and

and then point out the Limits allowed for the fishing. Immediately after this, the Divers of the various Boats descend into three, four, or five Fathom Water. In each Boat are several Divers, who go, by Turns, into the Water, and the Moment one comes out, another plunges in. They are fastened to a Rope, the End of which is tied to the Boat's Yard; and so contrived, that the Man in the Boat may, by a Pulley, easily make it looser or tighter, as Occasion requires. The Diver has a great Stone tied to his Foot, to sink the Swifter; and a kind of Bag is fixed round his Waist, for him to put the Oysters in. The Moment he is at the Bottom of the Sea, he gathers up, as quick as possible, all the Oysters he meets with, and puts them into his Bag. Whenever he finds more Oysters than he can carry at once, he makes a Heap of them; when coming up to take Breath, he dives again, or sends one of his Companions to fetch them. When he wants to return above Water, he needs only pull a small Rope, (not that which is round his body;) when a Mariner who is in the Boat, and holds the other End of the Rope in question, to observe its Motion, immediately makes a Signal to the rest: Then they draw up the Diver, who, to ascend the sooner, disengages, if possible, his Foot from the Stone to which it is fixed. The Boats don't lie far from one another; so that the Divers of the different Boats often fight under Water, for the several Oysters piled up by them.

Not long since a Diver, finding one of his Companions had robbed him, several Times together, of the Oysters he had heaped up with much Trouble, resolved to be plundered no longer. He forgave him the first and second Time; but perceiving that he still went on in his Roguery, he let him dive first, when following immediately after, he, with a Knife, killed him in the Water; and the

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Murder was not discovered till the Body was drawn up. But this is not the only Thing to be dreaded in this Fishery; this Sea being full of Sharks, who are so very strong and voracious, that they sometimes carry off a Diver and his Oysters, who are never heard of more.

With respect to what is said of the Divers taking Oil in their Mouths, or descending in a Kind of Glass Bell, these are Stories made by Persons for Joke sake, or out of Ignorance. As the Inhabitants of this Coast accustom themselves from their Infancy, to dive and hold their Breath, they become very expert at it; and are paid more or less in Proportion to their Dexterity on these Occasions. But notwithstanding this, Diving is such hard Work, that those employed in it, are not able to plunge above seven or eight Times in one Day. Some of them are so extremely desirous of getting together a large Heap of Oysters, that they often lose their Breath, and almost their Senses; by which Means, forgetting to give the Signal, they would be stifled in an Instant, if those who watch in the Boats, did not take Care to pull them up, whenever they stay too long in the Water. The diving is carry'd on till Noon, and then all the Boats make for the Shore.

Being come to it, the Master of the Boat makes his People carry into a kind of Park, the several Oysters belonging to him; and there leaves them two or three Days, in order that they may open, and the Pearls be taken out. This being done, and the Pearls well wash'd, the Men bring five or six little Copper Basons, which have Holes like Sieves, and go one into another, but in such a Manner, as to leave a Space between that above, and the other which lies under it. The Holes of the several Basons are of different Sizes, those of the second being smaller than the first; the third less than those of the second, and so on. In the first Bason is

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thrown indiscriminately the great and small Pearls, after being wash'd very clean, as was before observ'd. A Pearl that will not go through any of the Holes, is consider'd as of the highest Value. Those which stand in the second Basen, are next in Value, and so on to the last Basen, which, having no Holes in it, receives the Seeds of the Pearls. These various Orders form the Difference of Pearls, and generally fix their Price, unless this be rais'd or lower'd by their more or less perfect Roundness, or their being of a more or less beautiful Water. The *Dutch* reserve to themselves the Right of purchasing, if they think proper, the largest; but if the Owner will not sell them for the Price they offer, he is permitted to vend them to whomsoever he pleases: All the Pearls which are fish'd the first Day, belong either to the King of *Madura*, or the Prince of *Marava*, according to the Road where the Fishing is then carrying on. The *Dutch* are not allowed the Profits of the second Day's fishing, as has been related; they having other Methods besides this, to enrich themselves on that Occasion. The shortest and surest Way is to be posses'd of Cash; all those who pay ready Money buying every Thing here exceedingly cheap.

I shall not take Notice of a great many Frauds and Thefts committed in the Fishery in question, as this would carry me to too great Lengths. I shall only observe, that this Coast is very sickly, during the whole Time of the Pearl-Fishery; whether this be owing to the vast Concourse of People, who flock thither from all Parts, and are but badly accommodated with Lodging; or because so many of them subsist upon Oysters, which are not easily digested; or, lastly, whether it proceeds from an Infection in the Air; for as the Flesh of the Oysters is expos'd to the Sun-beams, it thereby corrupts

in a few Days, and exhales such a Stench, as possibly may give Rise to contagious Distempers.

The Fishery carried on this Year, at *Tutucurin*, has been very unsuccessful. However, the Trial made on this Occasion was quite otherwise, for which reason vast Numbers resorted to it. But when the Fishery began about the End of *March*, the Parties concerned were greatly surprized to find, that all the Divers together had not brought up above two or three thousand Oysters, and few Pearls in them. 'Twas worse in the succeeding Days, they not taking a single Oyster; so that one would have concluded, that the Fish in question had quite deserted this Coast. Many ascribed this Accident to the Currents, which had buried the Oysters in the Sand they brought along with them. As this happened but two Months before my Arrival at *Tutucurin*, 'twas all the Town-talk; and many Persons are not yet recovered from their Surprise, on account of so unexpected a Disappointment.

Whilst I was thus enquiring into the State of this Country, I wrote to Father *Xavier Borghese*, to inform him of my Design, and intreat him to send some Guides to me. At the same Time I desired him to send me Instructions with regard to my Conduct and Behaviour, in a Country which I so long had panted to see. This Father, who is of the illustrious House of the Princes *Borghese* in *Italy*, answered very obligingly, that he could not think of trusting to Guides, and therefore would come himself to *Tutucurin*, in case it was a proper Season for entering *Madura*; but that as the whole Country was then up in Arms, should any of our People set out, they very possibly might be robbed or murdered. He added, that the Natives had just before seized upon Father *Bernard de Saa*, his Neighbour, because of his having converted a Man belonging to one of their chief Castes: That they had dragged

him before the Magistrates; beat out some of his Teeth, and grievously scourged his Catechists. That the People in general were animated against the *Christians*; and lastly, that as he himself was every Moment in danger of being apprehended, he would not advise any Foreigner to come to him at so dangerous a Juncture. However, as I was determined to go, two Guides were sent me soon after, upon which I set out immediately with them from *Tuturicin*. I left that Town, as though I had been going to confess some sick Person; and Night coming on, and finding myself in a Wood, I put off the Habit usually worn by Jesuits, and assumed that of the Missionaries of *Madura*. The *Paravas* who had accompanied me thus far, went back; so that I now abandoned myself to the Conduct of my Guides, or rather to that of our Saviour. We travelled almost the whole Night, which was excessively dark, 'till at last the Moon rose. My Guides observed, that it would be proper for us to leave the common Road and travel through Woods, to avoid a small Fortrefs, whose Garrison often treats Passengers very roughly; but whether my Guides were not well acquainted with these By-roads, or lost their Way in the dark, we unexpectedly found ourselves almost at the Foot of the Fortrefs, and were obliged to pass before the Centinels posted at the Gates. Immediately I resolved not to discover the least Fear or Distrust; but desired my Guides to speak to the Soldiers as though they had been Inhabitants of the neighbouring Town. They followed my Advice, raised their Voices, and even spoke to the Centinels in a familiar manner, as tho' they had been well acquainted with them. This Stratagem succeeded, so that we passed by without being once questioned; thus kind was Providence to myself and to our dear Missionaries, to whom I

was carrying a few Neccessaries, of which they were in great want.

Having escaped this Danger, we travelled on, and arrived a little before Day at *Camien-naken, Patti*, where Father *de Saa* waited the more impatiently for me, as News had been brought the Day before, that a considerable Robbery had been committed upon that Road through which I was to travel.

I am, &c.

MARTIN.

Father FOUQUET, to Duke DE LA FORCE.

Nancham *, Capital of the Province of *Kiamfi*, in *Ghina*, Nov. 26, 1702.

My Lord,

I Arrived in *Ghina* the 25th of July 1699. The French Jesuits had, at this Time, no more than two Houses in that Empire, one at *Pekin*, within the Imperial Palace, where now stands a very fine Church, built at the Emperor's Expence; and the other House in *Canton*, one of the most famous Ports of *Ghina*, where the Europeans, and many Eastern Nations, carry on a great Trade. As these two Houses were not sufficient for the Number of Missionaries, who were increasing daily, we resolved to build others, and made Choice of the Province of *Kiamfi* for that Purpose.

Among the rest of our Converts, we were so happy as to win over a military *Sieoo-tsai*, or Graduate; there being military Graduates among the *Chineze*, as well as those of Literature. A Person who is ambitious of making a Figure in the former

* 'Tis in French, *Nan-tchang fou*.

Profession, is obliged to pass through several strict Examinations; must shew his Skill and Dexterity in shooting the Bow, as well as in riding; and give Proofs of his Agility and Strength in the rest of the military Exercises. He also must have some Learning; he being obliged to solve certain Problems relating to Incampments, &c. Those who distinguish themselves on these Occasions, are raised to the Degree of *Sieoo-tsai*, which is much the same with that of Bachelor in *France*. They next proceed to the Degree of *Kiu-gin*, after having passed Examination, which is done every Three Years, in Presence of the Viceroy and Mandarins of the Province. The highest Degree is that of *Tsin-see*, or Doctor; but none except Persons of the most exalted Merit, can ascend to this Degree, the Emperor himself nominating to it. The same Practice is observed in the Sciences as in War; but with this Difference, that the Graduates in Literature are more esteemed than those of the Art military. But any Person who can acquire the glorious Title of *Tsin-see*, either in Arms or Letters, may look upon his Fortune as made; he being qualified to fill the most important Posts in the Empire.

The Literati among the *Chineze* now began to visit me, on which Occasions they used to propose their Doubts with Regard to our holy Religion. One of these named *Yuen*, a Man highly esteemed by all his Acquaintance, asked me one Day very seriously, how it was possible for God to govern the World; and undergo the incessant Toils, to which he must necessarily submit. I endeavoured to satisfy him, by explaining the Idea we form to ourselves of God; on which Occasion I employed Comparisons, the better to illustrate the Divine Nature. This is the best Manner of instructing the *Chineze*; they being convinced sooner by a well applied

plied Comparifon, than by the moft folid Demonftrations *.

They are in general, Perfons of good Senfe, but their Heads don't feem to be of a Logical Turn, which, perhaps is owing to their not being ufed to a Logical Way of reasoning. The *Chineze* Literato feemed well fatisfied with my Answers, and vifited me two Months after, but I have not yet been able to convert him.

In a Village not far from *Foo-tcheoo*, a Woman about feventeen or eighteen, was troubled with a Difafe of a Nature fo extraordinary, that People did not know what to make of it. She was well in Body, had a very good Appetite, managed the Bufinefs of her Houfe, and all the reft of her Affairs as ufual. But on a fudden ſhe was feized with a Fit of raving; when ſhe began to talk of Things abſent and at a Diſtance, as though they had been preſent, and paſſing before her Eyes. She declared in one of theſe wild Fits, that ſhe ſhould ſoon be viſited by a Man, then in the Country, who would diſcourſe with her about the *Chriſtian* Religion. Another Time ſhe affirmed, that two Catechiſts would come on a certain Day ſpecified by her, and throw a certain Water over her, and every Part of the Houſe. At the ſame Time ſhe began to make the Sign of the Croſs ſeveral Times, and to imitate the Action of thoſe who ſprinkle holy Water. One of the Standers-by aſking her, why ſhe ſeemed ſo much diſturbed at this Water, and the Signs of the Croſs, ſhe replied, I fear them no leſs than Death. The moſt extraordinary Circumſtance in this Incident was, four young Men, who were either her Brothers, or otherwiſe related to her, had been afflicted with the like Diſtemper, five or ſix Months before. They were ſeized with ſuch Fits of Fury at certain Moments,

* This is no great Compliment to the Judgment of the *Chineze*; but, if true, they conſequently are the fitter Inſtruments of the Jeſuits to work upon.

that it was necessary to tie them, to prevent their tearing one another to Pieces. These unhappy Persons sought for Remedies of every kind, in order to get cured. *Tcham*, chief of the *Tao-see*, who assumed the Name of *Tsin-see*, or the celestial Doctor, came at that Juncture to *Foo-tcheoo*. This Name is hereditary, so that his Son would also be called celestial Doctor, though he should be the most ignorant and stupid Creature living. The Person who is now at the Head of the *Tao-see*, is a very handsome Man and about Thirty. He wears a very rich Dress, and is carried upon eight Men's Shoulders, in a magnificent Sedan. In this Pomp he travels, from Time to Time, through *China*, to visit the *Bonzes*, and collect large Sums of Money; for as the *Tao-see* are dependant on him, 'tis necessary for them to present him with considerable Sums, in order to procure his Approbation, and to be maintained in their Privileges. The *Tcham Tsin-see* came, as was observed above, to *Foo-tcheoo*, with a numerous Retinue, and in the Splendor above-mentioned. The *Tao-see*s, proud of the Arrival of their Chief, spread a Report throughout the whole City, that the Preachers of the *Christian* Law did not dare to appear, but were fled away, which however was an absolute Falsity. All the sick and unfortunate in *Foo-tcheoo*, waited upon the celestial Doctor, in hopes of being eased *. The Doctor pronounced only the few Words following, with an Air of Gravity, *Niam tching boam tcha pao, i. e.* "Lift up your Eyes to the tutelar Spirit of your City, that he may know your Evils, and give me an Account of them."

The Family in question addressed the celestial Doctor, in hopes of meeting some Remedy for the dreadful Evil with which they were afflicted. By

* I would not have translated this idle Story above, had it not been for what follows.

presenting the Doctor and his Disciples with several *Taels*, they obtained a Staff about a Cubit's Length, and covered with diabolical * Characters. Every Time they found themselves tormented, they were to make use of them, by practising certain Ceremonies; but instead of being eas'd, their Distemper increased. The young Woman in question had Recourse thrice to these Impostors; they coming three several Times to her House, on which Occasions they offered up that Number of Sacrifices, consisting of a Cock, a Dog, and Hog each Time. The Sacrifices in question, however, were not wholly useless to the Impostors, they afterwards feasting on the Flesh of these Animals; but they did no Service to the young Woman, any more than the Staff and the Characters †.

In a Letter written to me by Father *Premare*, he relates the following Particulars. “ A *Tael* having
 “ been given me by a *Christian Chineze* Woman, I
 “ thought I could not better employ that *Alms*
 “ than in founding a little Mission at *Siaoché*, a
 “ large Town within six Leagues of *Kien-chang*.
 “ The Inhabitants are a sincere, perfectly innocent
 “ People. As *Siaoché* stands by the River-side,
 “ most of the Men are Fishermen. I was surpriz-
 “ ed, at my coming into the Town, to meet not
 “ so much as a single grown Person, and to see
 “ only Children at the Doors. But the Reason of
 “ this is, the Women are confined to their Houses,
 “ where they work; during which the Husbands

* The Jesuits are often pleased to bestow this Epithet on any Thing which does not agree with, or suit their Artifices.

† How this *European* Impostor ridicules those of *China*! Such Impositions must naturally raise the Indignation of a thinking, honest Man; and may incline him to entertain a very unfavourable Idea of the Probity of his Fellow-creatures, in general.

“ are either fishing, or cultivating their Lands,
 “ which they plough twice or thrice a Year. The
 “ rural Mission of *Lookang* had made me delight
 “ in others of the same kind. I now came out of
 “ *Siaocbe* into the Fields, where I found all the poor
 “ People in question, working up and down. I
 “ then spoke to one of them, who seemed to be of
 “ a good Disposition; mentioning God to him, he
 “ appeared to be very well pleased with every
 “ Thing I said; he desired me, out of Respect, to
 “ go into the Hall of their Ancestors. This is the
 “ finest House in the whole Town, and common
 “ to all the Inhabitants, who having made it their
 “ Practice for many Years, not to marry out of
 “ their native Place, they now are all Relations,
 “ and have the same Ancestors. Several of these
 “ People flock’d to me, to hear the Word”.

Whilst we labour to the utmost of our Power in
 the Provinces, at the Conversion of Souls, the Fa-
 thers who reside at Court are equally industrious.
 Besides the Services the Emperor requires from them,
 and which they offer him from a religious Motive;
 such as arrived but lately from *Europe*, study the
Chineze Characters and Language, a Work of vast
 Time and Difficulty; I not knowing any that is
 more ungrateful. The *Chineze* Characters seem at
 first Sight like a Conjuring-Book, which it will be
 impossible to decypher. However, by often poring
 over them, and fatiguing the Imagination and Me-
 mory, we begin to understand them a little better.
 The *Europeans* find infinitely more Difficulty in this
 Study than the *Chineze*; these not being so much
 frightened at them, they having seen them often;
 and as they are not of so sprightly a Temper as most
 of the *Europeans*, they consequently are endued with
 more Patience. The Fathers who reside at the
 Emperor’s Court, have much greater Advantages
 with regard to the Study of the Language in que-
 stion,

Passage by land to CALIFORNIA

Discover'd by Father Eusebius
Francis Kino a Jesuit;
between the years 1698, & 1701.
containing likewise the
New Missions of the Jesuits.

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5 10 15 20 Leagues





tion, than those who live in the Provinces: For first, with respect to the Characters, the ablest Masters are there met with; and as to the Language, they are for ever conversing with People who speak it in all its Purity and Elegance. But it is a Knowledge they absolutely cannot do without; for what-Genius or Talents soever a Person may possess, he yet is obliged to learn the *Chinese* Language, in order to obtain access to the several great Men of the Empire: They inviting and conversing with us; and sometimes permitting us to speak about the *Christian* Religion.

I am, my Lord, &c.

F. FOUQUET.

The next Letter, (dated at Pondichery the 30th of September, 1703,) from Father Tachard to Father de la Chaise, relating entirely to the Missions, is therefore omitted.

An Account of the State of the Missions, newly settled by the Jesuits in California; presented to the Royal Council at Guadalaxara in Mexico, the 10th of Feb. 1702, by Father Francis M. Picolo, a Jesuit, one of the first Founders of that Mission.

Translated from the Spanish.

MY LORDS,

TIS in Obedience to your Commands, with which you was pleased to honour me some Days since, that I shall here give you an accurate and faithful Relation of the Discoveries and Settlements which Father *John M. de Salvatierra*, and myself

myself have made, within these five Years, in *California*.

We went on board a Ship in *October* 1697, and crossed the Sea which separates *California* * from *New Mexico*, under the Protection of our Lady of *Loretto*. Being all happily arrived, we placed the Image of our Lady (after adorning it in the best Manner possible) in the Place which we thought most suitable and worthy of the Saint; and besought her to be as favourable and indulgent to us on Land, as she had been at Sea.

As the Natives had not an Opportunity of knowing the Design we were come upon, viz. of bringing them to the Light of the Gospel, they not understanding our Language, and none of our Company having the least Knowledge of theirs; this made them imagine, that our only Motive was to dispossess them of their Pearl-fishery, as others had attempted more than once before. For this Reason they had recourse to Arms, and accordingly came in different Bodies to our Settlement, in which there

* Besides the Assurance which Father *Picolo* gives us, that *California* is not an Island, Captain *Woodes Rogers*, who was in these Parts in 1709, tells us, that many *Spaniards* had informed him, that several of their Countrymen had sailed up the Streights, lying betwixt it and the Ocean, as far as Latitude 42; but were afraid of venturing any farther, on account of the shallow Water, and many Islands, which is a general Sign of being near some Land. And *Dampier* tells us, that the *Spaniards* in many of their late Charts, join it to the Continent. If the new Map of *California* given by the Jesuits, and inserted in this Work, is accurately drawn, (and 'tis thought to be so,) Captain *Rogers* must have been imposed upon by those *Spaniards*, who assured him that their Countrymen had sailed up the Streights (by which the Gulf of *California* must be meant) to Latitude 42; the Gulf of *California*, in our new Map, not running quite so high as 32 Latitude: Nor do there appear to be any Islands in these Streights, (in the new Map) much higher than Latitude 29: Consequently our Jesuits are mistaken, or Captain *Rogers* was imposed upon; but I am apt to think the latter. *California* was very little known till this Relation, which being looked upon as genuine, is consequently valuable.

then

then were but a very few *Spaniards*. On which Occasion, they attacked us with so much Fury, and poured in such Showers of Darts and Stones, that we must inevitably have been lost, had it not been for the Protection of the blessed Virgin. But our People, aided by the Almighty, sustained the Attack with so much Bravery, and repulsed the Enemy with such Success, that they soon fled.

And now the *Barbarians* becoming more tractable after their Defeat, and finding it would be impossible for them to be victorious, deputed some Persons to us. These we received in the most friendly and hospitable Manner; and soon learnt enough of their Language, to acquaint them with the Views of our coming among them. The Deputies then undeceived their Countrymen; by which Means, these being now firmly persuaded of the Rectitude of our Intentions, flocked to us in greater Numbers than before; and seemed overjoyed that we were come to instruct them in the *Christian* Faith, and shew them the Way to Heaven. Finding them thus happily disposed, we resolved to study assiduously the *Monqui* Tongue, which is the Language of the Country: And accordingly we spent two Years in learning it, and in catechising the People.

And now Father *Salvatierra* and I separated, in order that our Labours might be the more effectual; he travelling northward, and myself South and West. We had the highest Consolation in these apostolical Excursions; for as we, by this Time, were well skilled in the Language of the Country, the Natives put the utmost Confidence in us; so that they at last would invite us into their Villages, receive us in the kindest Manner, and bring us their Children. After having thus instructed the Inhabitants of one Village, we went in search of others, to whom we also taught the *Christian* Faith. In this Manner Father *Salvatierra* discovered, insensibly, the several

ral Settlements, which form the Mission of *Loretto-Concho*, and that of *St. John de Londo*; and I myself the Country now called the Mission of *St. Francis Xavier* of *Biaundo*, which extends to the *South-Sea*.

Advancing thus, severally, up the Country, we observed that many Nations who spoke different Languages lived together; some speaking the *Monqui* Tongue which we understood, and others the *Laymone* Language, to which we were utter Strangers. For this Reason we were obliged to learn the latter, which is much more extensive than the *Monqui*, and seems to be generally spoke throughout the whole Country. We studied the *Laymone* Tongue so assiduously, that we soon made ourselves Masters of it, and began to preach either in the *Laymone* or *Monqui* Languages.

Since our second Discoveries we have divided the whole Country into four Missions: That of *Concho*, or *Our Lady of Loretto*; that of *Biaundo*, or *St. Francis Xavier*; that of *Yodivinegga*, or *Our Lady of Grief*; and that of *St. John de Londo*, which is not yet established, at least not so well as the three others.

Each Mission consists of several Villages. A Chapel had been built for the second Mission; but being found too small, we have begun to raise a lofty Church, with Brick Walls, and design to cover it in with Timber. The Garden, which joins to the House of the Missionaries, produces Herbs and Pulse of every Kind already; and the *Mexican* Trees planted there thrive well, and will soon be loaded with excellent Fruits.

To proceed to the Manners of the Natives, their way of living, and the Products of their Country. The Situation of *California* is laid down well enough in our ordinary Maps. In Summer, the Heats are very violent along the Coast, and it
feldom

seldom rains during that Season ; but, up the Country, the Air is more temperate, and the Heats are never intolerable. 'Tis the same in Proportion with regard to Winter. During the rainy Season, a Deluge of Water descends ; but that being over, so vast a quantity of Dews arise every Morning, that One would think it had rained ; and these Dews make the Land exceedingly fruitful. In *April*, *May*, and *June*, there falls along with the Dews, a sort of Manna, which congeals on the Leaves of the Reeds, whence it is gathered. I have tasted some of this Manna, which is as sweet as Sugar, but not quite so white.

The Climate, if we may judge from ourselves and those who came with us, must be healthy. For, during the five Years that we have lived in this Country, we have all enjoyed our Health, notwithstanding the severe Fatigues we were obliged to undergo ; and of the rest of the *Spaniards*, two only died. One of these a Woman, lost her Life imprudently, by bathing herself, tho' she was very big with Child, and expected every Moment to be delivered.

There are found in *California*, like as in the finest Countries in the World, wide-extended Plains, pleasing Vallies ; excellent Pasturage, at all Seasons, for large and small Cattle ; running Springs of the clearest Water ; Rivulets and Rivers, whose Banks are covered with Willows, Reeds, and wild Vines. The Rivers abound with Fish, particularly with Cray-fish, which are carried into a Kind of Reservoirs, whence they are taken out as People want them. I myself saw three of these Reservoirs, all of them handsome and spacious. We also meet with Abundance of Xicames, better tasted than those found in any Part of *Mexico*. Hence it may be concluded, that *California* is a very fruitful Region. On the Mountains grow Mescales, a Fruit
pecu-

peculiar to this Country, and is gathered all the Year round. We likewise meet, almost in every Season, with large Pistachoes, of various Kinds, and Figs of different Colours. The Trees are beautiful, and particularly those called by the *Chinos*, or Natives of the Country, *Palo Santo*. This Tree bears a great quantity of Fruit, and a most excellent Perfume is drawn from it.

California is no less prolific in Grain than in Fruit; and there are fourteen Sorts of the former, which the Natives feed upon. They likewise use the Roots of Trees and Plants; and, among others, that called *Yyuca*, with which they make a Kind of Bread. This Country produces likewise excellent Skirret, and a Sort of scarlet Beans*, of which great Quantities are eat; together with Pompions and Watermelons, of a prodigious Size. The Soil is so vastly rich, that many Plants bear Fruit thrice a Year; so that, were the necessary Labour employed in tilling and cultivating the Lands; and the Waters properly distributed, the whole Country would be extremely fertile, and produce the greatest Plenty of Fruits and Grain of every Kind. We ourselves made an Experiment of this; for having brought Wheat, *Indian* Corn, Peas, and Lentils, from *New Spain*, we sowed them, and found a very abundant Crop tho' we had not the proper Implements; an old Mule, and a wretched Plough-share, being the only Things we then possessed for that Purpose.

Besides several Kinds of Beasts well known to us, whereof great Numbers are seen here, and which are good Food, such as Stags, Hares, Rabbits, &c. there also are two Species of Animals not found in *Europe*. We called them Sheep, because they are

* These are called in the Original *Faiscoles*, by which, I suppose, the *Phaseoli* of the *Romans* are meant; these being translated, in some of the *French* Dictionaries, *Haricots*, which answer to our *French* Beans.

shaped

shaped something like those of our Country. The first Sort is as large as a Calf of one or two Years old. Their Head resembles very much that of a Stag; and their Horns, which are of an extraordinary Size, are like those of a Ram. Their Tail and Hair, which is spotted, are shorter than those of Stags; but their Hoofs are large, round, and cloven, like those of Oxen. I have eat of these Beasts, and their Flesh seemed vastly well tasted, and even delicate. The other sort of Sheep, some of which are white, and others black, do not differ so much from ours. They are bigger, and much more fleecy; and the Wool, which is easily spun, makes very good Cloth. Besides these Beasts, for Food, there are Lions, wild Cats, and many more like to those of *New Spain*. We had carried some Cows into *California*, and a great Number of small Cattle, as Sheep and Goats, which would have multiplied prodigiously, if the extreme Necessity we were in, for some Time, had not obliged us to kill a great Number of them. We also carried thither several Horses and young Mares, to stock the Country. They had begun to breed Hogs; but as these make a great Havock in the Villages, and the Women of the Country are afraid of them, we are resolved to extirpate them entirely.

With respect to Birds, all those of *Mexico*, and most of those of *Spain*, are found in *California*. There are Pigeons, Turtles, Larks; a great Number of delicately-tasted Partridges, Geese, Ducks, and several other sorts of Birds, both of Rivers and of the Sea.

The Sea abounds very much with Fish, which are very good Food. In it are found Pilchards, Anchovies and Tunnies, which last People catch with their Hands on the Shore. Whales are seen pretty frequently in these Parts, and Tortoises of all Kinds. The Shores are strewed with Heaps of

Shells, of a much larger Size than Mother of Pearl. Salt is not made from the Sea, but taken out of Pits. This Salt is as white and clear as Chrystal, and so very hard, that the People are often forced to break it with a Hammer. It would sell for a good Price in *New Spain*, that Country being in great want of this Commodity.

California * was discovered about two hundred Years ago. Its Coasts are famous for the Pearl-fishery, which was a strong Bait for the *Europeans*, who have made several Attempts to settle in it. 'Tis certain, that would our King set up a Fishery here, it might produce vast Sums. I don't doubt but Mines would be discovered in several Places, if sought for; since part of the Country is in the same Latitude with the Provinces of *Cinaloa* and *Sonora*, where there are very rich ones.

Tho' Heaven has been so indulgent to the *Californians*; and their Land produces spontaneously many Things which are not brought forth in other Countries except with vast Pains and Labour; they yet set no Value on the Abundance and Riches of their native Region. Contented with finding the several Necessaries of Life, they disregard all Things besides. The inland Country is very populous, especially northward; and tho' there is scarce one Village which does not consist of twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty Families, they yet never build Houses. The Shade of the Trees screens them in the Day-time, from the scorching Sun-beams; and in the Night, they secure themselves from the Inclemency of the Air, by a Kind of Roof made of Leaves † and Boughs. During Winter, they withdraw to
Caves,

* Sir *Francis Drake*, who was there in 1578, called it *New Albion*, and took Possession of it in the Name of his royal Mistress, *Queen Elizabeth*.

† This may put one in mind of that exquisite Description given

Caves, which they dig; and there several of them live together, in much the same Manner as wild Beasts. The Men go quite naked, at least those whom we saw. They wrap or tie round their Heads a Piece of very fine Linen, or a Kind of Network. They wear about their Necks, and sometimes on their Hands, by way of Ornament, Mother-of-Pearl in various Figures, wrought neatly enough; and intermixed with little round Fruits, resembling our religious Beads. Their only Weapons are Bows, Arrows, or Javelins; but these they carry always in their Hands, for hunting, or defending themselves against their Enemies; the Inhabitants of the several Villages or Towns being frequently engaged in War one against the other.

The Dress of their Women is something more modest than that of the Men, the former wearing, from the Waist to the Knee, a sort of Apron, made

even of the Manner in which *Adam* and *Eve* passed their Time in the Garden of *Eden*.

*Under a Tuft of Shade that on a Green
Stood whispering soft, by a fresh Fountain Side
They sat them down, and after no more Toil
Of their sweet gardening Labour than suffic'd
To recommend cool Zephyr, and made Ease
More easy; wholesome Thirst and Appetite
More grateful; to their Supper Fruits they fell,
Nectarine Fruits, which the compliant Boughs
Yielded them, side long as they sat recline
On the soft downy Bank damask'd with Flowers.*

*Into their inmost Bower
Handed they went; and eased the putting off
These troublesome Disguises which we wear;
Strait Side by Side were laid.*

*These, lulled by Nightingales, embracing slept,
And on their naked Limbs the flow'ry Roof
Shower'd Roses, which the Morn repair'd. Sleep on,
Blest Pair; and O yet happiest, if ye seek
No happier State, and know to know no more.*

Paradise Lost, Book IV.

of Reeds, plaited as artfully as the neatest Mats. They cover their Shoulders with the Skins of Beasts; and wear on their Heads, in the same manner as Men, a very curious Kind of Net-work; and these so very neat, that our Soldiers often use them to tie up their Hair. They, as well as the Men, wear Necklaces of Mother-of-Pearl, intermixed with the Stones or Kernels of Fruits, and Sea-shells, which descend to their Waists; and Bracelets of the same Kind with the Necklaces.

The usual Employment both of Men and Women is Spinning. The Thread is made of Blades of Grass, which serve as Flax or Hemp; or of a Cotton-like Substance, found in the Rind of certain Fruits. With the finest Thread they make the various Ornaments above specified; and with the coarser, Bags or Sacks for different Uses, and Fishing-nets. The Men likewise, with various Baldes of Grass, whose Fibres are vastly close, and which they work very skilfully, make a sort of Kitchen-Furniture, of a new Kind, and of all Sizes. The smallest Pieces serve for Cups; and those of a larger Size for Plates, Dishes, and sometimes Umbrells for the Women; and of the largest are made Baskets for gathering Fruits, and sometimes Pans and Basins to dress their Victuals. But those who cook, must take Care to move these Vessels perpetually whilst they are over the Fire, lest the Flames should catch hold of them, in which Case they would be burnt presently.

The *Californians* are a very lively People, and fond of joking. This we found when we first began to instruct them; they, whenever we committed any Error in speaking their Language, laughing at, and jeering us. But now that we are better acquainted, they correct us, whenever we commit a Fault, in the civillest Manner; and whenever we explain some Mystery or Article in Morality,

which interferes with their Prejudices or antient Errors, they wait till the Preacher has ended his Discourse, and then will dispute with him, in a forcible and sensible Manner. If cogent Reasons are offered, they listen to them with great Docility; and when convinced, they submit, and perform whatever is enjoined them. They did not seem to have any Form of Government, nor scarce any Thing like Religion, or a regular Worship. They adore the Moon, and cut their Hair (to the best of my Remembrance) when that Planet is in the Wane, in Honour of their Deity. The Hair which is thus cut off they give to their Priests, who employ it in several superstitious Uses. Every Family enacts its own Laws at pleasure; and this possibly may be the Cause of the frequent Contests and Wars in which they are engaged with one another.

I shall now venture to lay down the best Manner, as it appears to me, of propagating the *Christian* Religion in *California*, and of settling a lasting and advantageous Correspondence with the Natives of it.

First, I believe it will be absolutely necessary to make two Embarkations from hence annually. The most considerable must be for *New Spain*, with which Country such a Commerce might be settled, as may be highly advantageous to both Nations. The second Embarkation might be for the Provinces of *Cinaloa* and *Sonora*, whence new Missionaries may be brought, as well as all Things necessary, yearly, for the Support of such as are already settled here: The Ships employed in these Embarkations might easily be sent, between one Voyage and the other, upon new Discoveries northward; and the Expence would not be very great, were the same Officers and Sailors made use of as have been employed hitherto; for as these live after the Manner of the Country, they would procure Provisions for little or nothing;

and being acquainted with the Seas and Coasts of *California*, they consequently would sail with greater Security and Dispatch.

Another essential Article, would be, to provide for the Security and Support both of such *Spaniards* as are already settled here, and of those Missionaries who shall come hither with, or after us. With regard to the Missionaries, 'twas with great Pleasure I heard, since my being here, that our King *Philip V.* whom God long preserve, has already provided for them, in a Manner worthy of his Piety and Grandeur; his Majesty, the Instant he was informed of the Progress which the *Christian* Religion made in these Parts, settling six thousand Crowns a Year on our Mission. This will be sufficient to support a great number of Gospel-labourers, who will not fail to come to our Assistance.

With regard to the Security of the *Spaniards*, now settled here, the Fort we have already built may serve in case of Need. 'Tis raised in the District of *St. Denis*, in the Place called, by the *Indians*, *Conc o*; and, by us, *Our Lady of Loretto*, and here we established our first Mission. This Fort has four small Bastions, and is surrounded with a deep Ditch. An Area is laid out for the Soldiers to exercise in, and Barracks are built for them. The Chapel dedicated to the Virgin, and the House of the Missionaries, stand near the Fort. The Walls of these Buildings are of Brick, and the Roofs of Timber. I left in this Fort eighteen Soldiers with their Officers, two of whom are married, and have Children, which must necessarily endear them to this Country. There also are eight *Chinos* and *Negroes* for the Service; and twelve Sailors on Board the two small Ships, called the *St. Xavier* and the *Rosary*; besides twelve Sailors whom I took with me on Board the *St. Joseph*. We were obliged, at our first settling, to dismiss some Soldiers, merely from our Inability to support

support them. 'Tis evident that the Garrison in question would not be able to defend the *Spaniards* for any Time, should the *Barbarians* make any Attempt upon them. A Garrison should therefore be settled, like that of *New Biscay*; and should be situated on some Spot, whence they might be capable of acting from every Quarter. This alone would be sufficient to maintain that Peace and Tranquility in the Country, which we have hitherto preserved, Heavens be praised, notwithstanding our Weakness.

Other Particulars, though they may be looked upon as of less Importance, will not be found so, when duly considered. *First*, 'Twill be proper to bestow a Reward upon such Soldiers as came over thither first. The Success we have hitherto met with, is partly owing to their Bravery; and the Hopes of being equally distinguished, will invite others, and excite them to imitate the Valour and Conduct of those who set them so noble an Example.

Secondly, Some Gentlemen and Officers should be prevailed upon to come and settle here, in order that they, and their Children, may fill the several Employments, as they become vacant.

Lastly, It is of the highest Importance for the Missionaries to live in good Harmony with those who command in *California*. It were to be wished that the King himself would nominate some trusty Person, by the Title of Intendant, or Commissary-General; one who, out of Zeal for the Conversion of this Country, would undertake to pay every Individual the Sum allotted him by the Court; and to keep a watchful Eye over the whole Colonies, that all Persons might have an Opportunity of discharging, unperplexed and with Ease, the several Duties of their Function; in a Word, a Person who might prevent Ambition and Interest from destroying,

as has too often happened, in an Instant, a Work, the raising of which took up so much Time, and exposed those who engaged in it to so many Dangers.

Guadalaxara, Feb. 10, 1702.

FRANCIS M. PICOLO.

The 5th Vol. of the Original ends here.

*A DESCENT made by the Spaniards, in the
Island of * California in 1683.*

THE Spaniards, ever since they possessed Mexico, have always looked upon the Island of California, as a Conquest worthy of their Arms. The Advancement of our holy Religion, and the Salvation of the Californians, added to the hopes which those who sailed this way, have continually given us, viz. that a considerable Pearl-Fishery might be carried on there; made us always desirous of extending the Spanish Empire over this rich, wide-extended Country. The famous Marquis del Valle, Don Ferdinand Cortez, was the first who projected, and engaged in this Enterprize; but the Commotions which it was apprehended would break out, in a Country newly conquered, having obliged him to return to Mexico, put an End to all the hopes which the World entertained of his Bravery and Success. Several Attempts have been since made by other great Captains, but these were always defeated by some unforeseen Accident; and the only Advantage gained by these various Descents, was, the Spaniards got some little Knowledge of the Inhabitants of this Island; of the Pearl-

* California is since supposed to form Part of the Continent.

Fishery,

Fishery ; which may be carried on there and of a new kind of Ambergrease found in these Parts.

The Glory of this Conquest, of equal Importance to Religion and Trade, was reserved for our Monarch, at whose Expence this last Embarkation was made, and from which we may promise ourselves the greatest Success. Marquis *de Laguna*, Viceroy and Captain-General of *Mexico* or *New Spain*, having received Orders, from his Catholic Majesty, not to spare any Expence with regard to Enterprizes, where there might be the least Probability of extending the *Christian* Faith among the barbarous Nations, fitted out two Ships of War, with a Bilander * ; and putting on Board them a Body of stout Troops, with Provisions and Ammunition of every kind, he sent them upon this Conquest, under the Command of Don *Isidore d'Atondo* †, Admiral of *New Spain*, from whose Letters the following Account ‡ was extracted.

This little Fleet sailed from the Port of *Chalaca*, in *New Gallicia*, the 18th of *January* 1683. Their Voyage, for some Days, was not very successful, as the Wind was almost perpetually contrary ; and the Ships being obliged to ply to Windward, were thrown by the Storm into the Harbour of *Mazatlan*, in which both Ships entered the 9th of *February*. They arrived *March* 18, at the Mouth of the River of *Cinaloa*, where there is a pretty com-

* A two Mast Vessel.

† This Enterprize is hinted at, in Father *le Gobien's* Letter to the Jesuits of *France*, inserted in pag. 351, of this Volume.

‡ I met accidentally with this Relation in *Paris* ; and *California* being a Country so little known, I judged that this Account would please. 'Tis annexed to the Relation of two Journies, undertaken by the Emperor of *China*, in 1682 and 1683, into *Eastern* and *Western Tartary*. The whole is dedicated to *Lewis XIV* ; and printed at *Paris*, for *Estienne Michallet*, 1685, 12mo. The Account of this Descent was written originally in *Spanish*.

modious

modious Harbour. Here they refreshed themselves for some Time, and afterwards continued their Course along the Coast of *Cinaloa*, as far as the Islands of *St. Ignatius*, where they ply'd to Windward, in order to make the greater Expedition; or rather that they might not sail quite so slow as before. Their Course was pretty near from East, Westward. The Weather was now so very favourable, that the Ships were carried in one Night, in sight of *Ceralbo* and the Land of *California*, spite of the strong Currents met with in this Arm of the Sea, and which run with great Impetuosity into the Pacific Ocean. However, the Wind shifting on a sudden, they could not get a-shore till three Days after. They then coasted along, Northwest, and, after sailing eight Leagues, arrived at last, at the Mouth of the famous Harbour *de la Paz* *. Geographers are very much divided in Opinion with Regard to the Situation of this Port. 'Tis placed, in our common Maps in the 24th Degree: Some particular Maps, fix it at the 27th; and others again in the 25th and 26th Degree. 'Tis placed, in Captain *de Lureville's* Chart, in the 24th Degree; agreeing, in this Respect, with those of *Jansonius*. Nevertheless, Father *Eusebius Francis Kino*, the Jesuit, a famous Mathematician, who was in this Expedition, declares that the Mouth of this Harbour lies in 24 Degrees, 45 Minutes. This made us doubt whether this Port be really that call'd *de la Paz*; which Doubt is the more justly grounded, as the *Californians* who were met with in this Harbour, did not understand one Word of what the Jesuits, on Board the Fleet, said to them; though those Words were taken from a Dictionary, which other Jesuits had compiled at Port *de la Paz*, in the first Expeditions of the *Spaniards*. Add to this, that it was

* 'Tis so call'd in our Maps: In the Original 'tis *Notre Dame de la Paix*, i. e. Our Lady of Peace.

observed,

observed, in the first Voyages to *California*, that the Inhabitants of this Harbour used to come on Timber-Floats and Canoes, to meet all such *Euro-peans* as arrived there, with the greatest Demonstrations of Friendship; whereas, on this Occasion, not so much as one Float or Canoe appeared, nor was a single *Californian* seen for several Days. Don *Isidore de Atondo* the Admiral, who likewise, entertained the same Doubt, endeavoured to solve it, by supposing that the *Californians* called *Guaricures*, who, according to the first Relations, were engaged in War with those of *Port de la Paz*, might have drove out the ancient Inhabitants, and seized upon their Country; because the Marks we have that the Cape of *St. Luke* is at the Point of the Island of *Ceralbo*, shew that this Harbour is the ancient *Port de la Paz*. However this be, we shall give it that Name. We entered it the 30th of *March*, after performing a nine Days Devotion to *St. Joseph*. The Bay is very large, and much like that of *Cales*. On the Morrow, we advanced five or six Leagues higher, and cast Anchor. The Admiral, with his Captains, landed from two Boats, upon a very agreeable Spot covered with Palm-Trees, where they found a Spring of excellent Water. They did not meet with a single Inhabitant in this Place; but imagined, by the Footsteps seen, that there were some Men thereabouts. The *Spaniards* did not advance farther this Day, but returned to the Coast, and lay there.

The Day following all the Men landed, when immediately a great Cross was erected upon an Eminence, by Way of taking Possession of the Country in the Name of God, and his Catholic Majesty *. The *Spaniards* wanted to know whether
some

* What Right the *Spaniards* had, to seize upon a Country in this Manner, and dispossess the Natives of it, is above my Comprehension :

some *Californians* were not hid in these Woods, which are exceedingly thick, and cover the whole Mountain. For this Purpose they left a few Eatables, such as *Indian Corn*, Biscuit, &c. mixing some Beads among them. Being satisfied with this Discovery, they returned on Board their Ships.

The Third of *April*, the *Spaniards* landed again, when they found the several Things they had left, in the very same Place untouched. The Admiral, accompanied by a Captain and some Soldiers, went upon a Hill, whence he discovered only a wide-extended Lake; and afterwards return'd on Board his Ships. On *Sunday* after Mass, they sent out the Boats, upon a Discovery, through Straits above Three Leagues in Length. The Extremity of these Straits, according to Father *Kino*, is in 24 Degrees 10 Minutes. They spent the Evening in Fishing; and catch'd a large Quantity of Sea-Wolves, Soles, Thornbacks, and several other Fish

prehenſion: Much the ſame, as it would be for a Fellow to take away by Force, a Coat out of a Man's Shop, becauſe he is ſtronger. Some may perhaps ſay, that the Obedience the Jeſuits owe the Pope, gives a ſufficient Sanction to all Attempts of this kind. The Submission required by them is thus ſtrongly deſcribed by our Countryman *Oldham*, in his Third Satyr upon the Jeſuits.

*Let it be held leſs heinous, leſs amiſs,
To break all God's Commands, than one of his * : (* the Pope's)
When his great Miſſions call, without Delay,
Without Reluctance readily obey.*

*Should he to Bantam, or Japan command,
Or fartheſt Bound of Southern, unknown Land;
Farther than Avarice its Vaſſals drives,
Thro' Rocks and Dangers; loſs of Blood and Lives;
Like great Xavier's be your Obedience ſhewn;
Outſtrip his Courage, Glory and Renown;
Whom neither yawning Gulphs of deep Deſpair,
Nor ſcorching Heats of burning Line could ſcare:
Whom Seas, nor Storms, nor Wrecks could make refrain
From propagating holy Faith and Gain.*

of a prodigious Size, which served them for Provisions three Days. Among these Fish some poisonous Ones, which they knew, were found. On *Monday* they return'd to the Place where they first landed; and began to build a small Fort there, with a Church, dedicating it to our Lady of *Guadaloupe*, as the Conquest of this Country was undertaken under her Protection. These Precautions were not unnecessary; for the Admiral, with some Captains, going upon an Eminence, discovered a vast Cloud of Smoke; this being the Signal employed by the *Californians* whenever they assemble, in order to make War. The Admiral judged it expedient to fortify himself, which was accordingly done with Trunks of Palm-Trees; they mixing these instead of Fascines, with the Soldiers Boxes and Trunks; in order to fire upon the Natives, if they found it necessary *, and to secure themselves from their Darts and Arrows. They mounted three Field-Pieces on the Fort, which was raised in Form of a Half-Moon; and after taking these several Precautions, they passed that Night without the least Apprehensions. The Soldiers going, on the Morrow, to grub up or clear a Hill, and fell Timber for the Fortifications, heard on a sudden, a dreadful Cry made by the Natives, who were marching directly towards them. Immediately the Alarm was sounded, and they all retired into the Fort. Scarce had we put ourselves in a Posture of Defence, when we saw about Thirty-five *Californians*, who were all well-made, agreeable Men, and completely armed with Bows, Arrows and Darts. They drew up in the Form of a Half-Moon; and seemed, by their Gestures, to bid us quit their Country. The Admiral and the Captains declar'd, by Signs, that they were desirous of Peace, and came to conclude an

* Excellent this! as tho' the *Spaniards* had a right to kill the Natives, in Case they opposed their settling among them.

Alliance

Alliance with them *. The *Spaniards* entreated them, by Signs, to lay down their Arms; observing that they would do the same; but the *Californians* could not be prevailed upon to comply.

In the mean Time, Father *Matthias Gogni*, and Father *Kino*, both Jesuit-Missionaries, who were come in this Fleet, in order to convert the Natives, advanced towards them with Intrepidity, offering them Biscuit, *Indian* Corn, Glass Beads, and several trifling Things, which are highly valued by these *Barbarians*. They did not care, at first, to take them from their Hands; but observed by Signs that they would accept them, provided they would lay them on the Ground. This being done, they took what was offered them; and after eating some of the Victuals with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy, they laid down their Arms; and took from the Hands of the Jesuits, and those of the other *Spaniards*, every Thing set before them. They swallowed down the Provisions very greedily; and after rubbed their Stomach and Belly, with a very quick Motion, as an Indication of their Hunger. 'Tis not that they were in Want of Provisions; they having Venison with which they regaled the *Spaniards*, and some Pieces of a certain Meat roasted, which also is eat in *New-Spain*; but having travelled, (as was supposed) a great many Leagues that Day, they probably design'd to reserve these Provisions for their Return; or eat it by the side of a Spring, of which the *Spaniards* had taken Possession. These observ'd that the *Barbarians*, after eating a small Portion of what was given them, went and carried the rest up the Mountain; declaring at their Return, by Signs, that they would gladly accept of more. Possibly their Wives and Children were in

* How justly might some of the Fables of *Esop*, (one of those of the Wolf and Sheep for Instance) be applied on this Occasion?

the adjacent Mountains; and they carried them Part of whatever was presented to them by the *Spaniards*. These *Californians* did not go away, that Day, till Evening: And though the *Spaniards* were perfectly well satisfied with their Behaviour, it yet was thought prudent for them to stand upon their Guard to; and beware of a People, with whose Temper and Fidelity they, as yet, were utterly unacquainted. The *Spaniards* spent the following Days in felling the Palm-Trees, and other large Trees, in order to strengthen the Half-Moon.

On *Thursday, April 8*, they caught a vast Number of Fish; but the Natives not appearing that Day, were suspected to harbour some evil Design, and to be drawing Forces together, in order to come and attack us: Nevertheless on the Morrow, there came fourscore and ten *Californians*, very different from the former, who gave us all the Testimonies possible of Friendship. We presented them with an Image of the Crucifix, and that of our Lady of *Guadaloupe*. The Surprize they discover'd at the Sight of them, plainly shew'd that they had never seen any Thing of this kind before. They always went every Evening to lie upon the Mountain, and would return next Morning, they discovering the greatest Familiarity and Freedom; mixing with the *Spaniards* without the least Fear, and even with too great Liberty; they sometimes filching Things of little Value with wonderful Dexterity. The Admiral perceiving this, thought it necessary to put a stop to their Thefts, by inspiring them with Awe and Dread. The Method he used for this Purpose was as follows. He ordered a very thick Leathern Shield, to be nailed to the Bones of a Whale, found there by Accident. The *Barbarians* were then desired, by Signs, to let fly their Arrows at the Shield, which some of the most vigorous among them did with the greatest Dexterity;

Dexterity; however, their Arrows broke, and made very little Impression on the Leather; a Circumstance which surprized them greatly, their Arrows being so very sharp, that they can strike quite through all kinds of Beasts. The Admiral afterwards asked them by Signs, whether they were desirous of seeing the Force and Power of the *Spanish* Arms; the *Californians* imagining, as they afterwards declared, that the Musket was a sort of Bow, and the Rammer the Arrow: But now Don *Ifidore*, in order to shew them the Force of the Musket, order'd *Martin Verafigui* to discharge his against the Shield; when he retiring six Paces farther from the Shield than they had done, fired his Piece, and pierced not only the Leather of the Shield, but also the Bone of the Whale to which it was nailed. The *Barbarians*, being now in the greatest Surprise, drew nearer in order to see the Hole made on this Occasion; when asking for a Bullet in hopes of performing the like, One was given them. A *Californian* then laid the Bullet at the End of a Dart, and blew it with all his Might; these People fancying that the Noise was owing to the forcible blowing away the Bullet; however, the Moment they let it go, it would fall at their Feet. They now were frightened, and discontinued their Pilferings; and if ever they happened to steal any little Thing, and were discovered, they would return it that Instant. They then were asked by Signs, whether there were no Rivers in this Country? When one of them endeavoured to answer this question thus. He took up a Dart, and pointing Westward, began to amble along; when, going once and a half round the Camp, he turned the Point of his Dart towards the Sun; thereby denoting, that there was a River, as far distant from thence, as might be travell'd, in the manner he had ambled, in the Time that the Sun

is

is going once and a half round : Whence we concluded, that there was a River, westward, distant a Day's Journey and a half from the Camp. The *Spaniards* afterwards took a Handful of Salt, and gave them some to taste; asking, at the same Time, if there was any among them. The *Californians* put some of it into their Mouths, and afterwards gave us to understand, by turning their Heads, that they had none. They next laid their Hands on their Cheeks, when, shutting their Eyes, they took Leave of the Company; denoting, by this Action, that they were going to sleep.

The Jesuits, whose only View in going on board this Fleet was to convert, if possible, the Natives, immediately began to study their Language. For this Purpose they took exact Notice of every Word they heard, and instantly wrote it down, in order to learn it by heart. Father *Kino*, who begins to understand that Tongue, affirms it is very clear; and assures us, that all the Letters of our Alphabet are employed in it. These *Californians* are a tractable, kind People, and extremely jovial. They pronounce the *Spanish* very distinctly; and, at our first Arrival among them, their Children came and played as familiarly with ours, as if they had all been brought up together.

Seldom a Day passed but other *Californians* came to the Camp. The *Spaniards*, after having performed their *Easter-devotions* * with great Fervency, on *Holy Thursday*, in the Church which they had raised with the Trunks of Trees and Boughs, saw forty new *Californians* advancing towards them. Being come up, they indulged them the kindest Reception, and gave them certain Trifles, in return for some Loads of Wood they brought. The *Barbarians* were so delighted with these Presents,

* The Original is *ayant fait leurs pâques*, signifying, having received the Sacrament, preparatory to the Feast of *Easter*.

that all of them returned, next Day, with Wood loaded on their Shoulders.

These *Californians* are exceedingly tractable. They listen with Pleasure to Instruction, join in Prayer with the Jesuits, make the Sign of the Cross; and repeat, very clearly and distinctly, the Prayers which are taught them; for tho' they don't understand these Prayers, nevertheless the Name of God *, mentioned in them, is capable of softning their Hearts, and may produce the most happy Effect with regard to their Souls.

The Manner in which they express every Thing by Gestures, shews them to have good natural Parts. An old Man, who had had five Children, took this Method to inform the *Spaniards*, that he had buried one of them not many Days before. He dug a Grave, threw in a Log of Wood, and covered it with Earth; endeavouring to console himself, by this Action, for his Loss. After this Manner these good People converse with, and tell us many Particulars, which, for Brevity sake, I omit. 'Tis not yet known whether they have any Huts. The Admiral having commanded a Corporal, with some Soldiers, to advance, for that Purpose, as far up the Country as possible; these Men, having marched about three Leagues, went upon a very high Eminence, and thence spied a large Lake, fine Plains, and thick Clouds of Smoke, at a great Distance; but did not perceive either Men or Huts.

The Air of this Island is very healthy and agreeable. We saw high Mountains, covered with Wood, and stocked with wild Fowl, Rabbits and Deer. The Soil seems very fit for Seeds of every Kind; the *Spaniards* having already sowed *Indian Corn*,

* How idle is this! Though every Thing expressive of the Deity, ought, when understood, to work powerfully on the Minds of Men; yet what Effect can an empty Sound have on Persons who are utterly ignorant of the Idea implied by it! This favours very much of the Cabalistical Doctrines.

Melons,

Melons, &c. which they brought with them. The Meadows and fine Pasture Grounds found in this Country, give us Reason to believe, that all Sorts of Animals may thrive in it. For this Purpose the Admiral sent his Galley to fetch over some ; and Advice has been brought, that she was arrived at *Hiaqui*, where the several Cattle, which the Admiral desired to be sent, were put on board.

Some Soldiers, rambling at a considerable Distance from the Camp, came to a Cave, wherein lay a great Number of human Bones, whence they conjectured that the Natives bury their Dead there. They also found in it some Wrecks of Ships, which, probably, were part of those belonging to Captain *Ortega*, who was cast away in this Harbour in 1633 or 1634. They likewise found mineral Stones, and Pieces of Mother-of-pearl, with which, if the first Relations may be credited, this great Gulph abounds. But whatever Wonders are therein told concerning them, we have not yet found any ; and the *Californians* seem to have never seen any such Thing. Possibly they are to be met with only in the Islands, of which there are a multitude in this Streight, particularly to the North-west. The Soldiers likewise saw in the abovementioned Cave, some Bones of a Whale, of so prodigious a Size, that a single Jaw-bone was five Ells broad. The Admiral waits impatiently for the Horses which are to be sent him from *Hiaqui*, in order to advance farther up into the Country ; and to go on the other Side of the Harbour, as well as to the Bay of *St. Mary Magdalen*, twenty Leagues from the Port *de la Paz*.

The Length of this Island, from North-west to South-west, is 1700 Leagues, from Cape *St. Luke* to that of *Mendozino* * ; and its Breadth, from East to North-west, is 500 Leagues, from Port *Sir Francis Drake*, to Cape *Mendozino*, according to

* 'Tis called *Mendocino* in *Moll's Maps*,

the first Relations of this Country. When we have made a complete Discovery of it, we then shall be able to send you a more authentic Account.

Vol. VI. of the Original begins here. Father *le Gobien*'s Dedication of it, to the Jesuits of *France*, is omitted here.

Father MAUDUIT, to Father LE GOBIEN.

*Caroovepondi, a Town in the Kingdom of
Carnata, in India, Jan. 1. 1702.*

Reverend Father,

IN my former Letters, I observed that our Superiors were resolved to settle a new Mission in the Kingdom of *Carnata*, in the Neighbourhood, and after the Model of that of *Madura*, and had made Choice of me for that Purpose. As the Manners and Customs of these People are very extraordinary, and it is proper for a Missionary to acquaint himself with them, I thought it necessary for me to go and study them in *Madura*, under Father *Francis Lainez*, and Father *Joseph Carvalbo*; and accordingly laboured about six Months with them in that Mission. I afterwards went, at the Command of my Superiors, to *Cangivaron*, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Carnata*, and resided there some time.

I am to observe that Catechists of a lower Caste, cannot be employed in instructing such *Indians* as are of a higher Caste. The *Bramins* and *Shootres*, who are the principal and most extensive Castes, have a much greater Aversion to the *Parias*, who are under them, than any Prince in *Europe* could entertain for the Dregs of the People. These *Bramins* and *Shootres* would be dishonoured in their native Place, and lose all the Privileges of their Caste, should they listen to the Instructions of a Person whom their Countrymen consider as an abominable Wretch.

We

We therefore are obliged to appoint *Parias*-Catechists for the *Parias*, and *Bramin*-Catechists for the *Bramins*; a Circumstance which gives us no little Trouble, it not being easy to procure such, especially of the latter. Nothing is more difficult than to convert the *Bramins*; for these being naturally haughty, and puffed up with Notions of their exalted Birth, and their Superiority over the rest of the Castes, they thence are found less tractable, and more strongly attached to the Superstitions of their Country.

The 23d of last *March* an Eclipse of the Moon happened. As the *Bramins* are the only Scholars and Divines among the *Indians*, and apply themselves particularly to Astronomy, they also had foretold the Eclipse in question. Upon examining their Calculation, I found it was not quite accurate, for which Reason I drew a Scheme of that Eclipse, wherein I specified exactly the Time and Duration of it. I then sent this Scheme to *Cangivaron* and the neighbouring Towns, and it was found just, the Eclipse happening at the very Hour specified by me, a Circumstance which gave this People a very advantageous Idea of the Knowledge of the *Bramins* of the *North*, as we are called in this Country.

Nothing can be more absurd than the manner in which the *Indians* account for Eclipses. Every Time that the Shadow of the Earth conceals the Moon from us; or that the Moon prevents our seeing the Sun, which cause Eclipses, as is generally known, the superstitious *Indians* fancy that a Dragon swallows these two Planets, and thereby takes them from our Sight. A yet more ridiculous Circumstance is, that, to make the pretended Monster disgorge the mighty Morfels, they make a dreadful hurly-burly; and such of their Women as are with Child shut themselves up very assiduouſly, and dare not stir out, for fear lest this terrible Dragon, after having

swallowed the Moon, should do the like by their Children.

As some *Bramins* happening to visit me about this Time, they spoke concerning the Eclipse. I plainly demonstrated to them, that the Particulars related of the Dragon's swallowing the Sun and Moon, during their Eclipse, were all a Fiction, invented merely to impose on the People; and they readily agreed with me in Opinion. *Since you are so frank and ingenuous, said I, give me Leave to observe, that as you have been hitherto mistaken, with regard to the Cause of Eclipses, you likewise may be in an Error, in imagining that Bruma, Wistnou, and Routrem, are Gods worthy of Adoration; since that these pretended Deities were only so many vicious, corrupt Men, who were ranked among the Gods, merely by the Flattery of their Fellow-creatures.* 'Tis no hard matter to refute a Sett of People who have no fixed Principles; but 'tis very difficult to prevail with them to renounce their Errors, and act conformably to known Truth. Whenever they are reproached with any Vice, or reprov'd for committing any wicked Action, they coldly answer, that it is writ so on their Head, and that it was impossible for them to act otherwise. If a Missionary seems surprized at such an Assertion, and desires to see the Place where this is writ, they shew him the various Sutures or Seams in their Skull, and pretend that they are the Characters of this mysterious Writing. In case he is urgent with them to decypher these Characters, and explain their Signification, they then confess themselves quite in the dark as to that Matter. *But since you are not able to read this Writing, would I sometimes say to these obstinate Idolaters, what Man decyphers it to you? Who is that explains its Meaning? Besides, as these pretended Characters are the same on the Heads of Mankind in general, whence comes it that*
Men

Men act so differently ; and shew so great a Contrariety in their Views and Designs ?

The *Bramins* listened to me very calmly, and without seeming to regard the Contradictions they necessarily fell into, nor the ridiculous Consequences which they were obliged to own resulted from what they said. At last, finding the Attack grow still warmer, their only Refuge was to withdraw without saying a Word. This gives a tolerable Idea of the People of this Country, and shews that the Conversion of a *Bramin* is not so easy a Matter as might be imagined. Few Converts have been made here this Year.

As our Intention is to establish a lasting Mission, not only in the Kingdom of *Carnata*, whence this Letter is dated, but likewise in the other Kingdoms round us ; it was judged necessary for me to acquire an exact Knowledge of this Country, in order for us to fix upon such Places, as may be most proper for settling Missions in them. For this Reason I was obliged to undertake a long Journey westward, whence I returned but two Months since ; and of which you will receive a faithful Narrative, at the same Time with this Letter.

I am, &c.

MAUDUIT.

Relation of the Journey of Father MAUDUIT, a Jesuit, to the West of the Kingdom of Carnata, in 1701.

THE third of September, 1701, I set out from *Caroovepondi*, where I usually reside, being but about two or three Leagues from *Cangivaron*, Capital of *Carnata* ; and arrived pretty early that Day at *Ayenkolam*, formerly a considerable City,

but which now is only a large Town. A *Christian* whom I had baptized there some Months before, received me in the kindest Manner, but I did not make any Stay with him. I proceeded forward, and went and lay in a large Pagod, dedicated to an Ape, whom the *Indians* worship as a Deity. As there are no Caravanferas or Inns in all this Country, for Travellers to lodge in, they commonly pass the Night in the *Heathen* Temples or Pagods. My Catechists and I placed ourselves in the middle of the Pagod, where we offered up the usual Prayers; and after prostrating ourselves several Times before the Image of the crucified Saviour, which I fastened to one of the Pillars, we sang, in the *Tamul* Language *, various spiritual Songs, that we might glorify God in a Place where he is so often dishonoured. One of the *Bramins*, who has the Care of this Temple, vexed to see us condemn his Idols, and turn our Backs upon them, came and expressed his Indignation on that Account : † However, we, without regarding his Invectives, continued our spiritual Songs, till such Time as it was necessary for us to take some Rest. I spent the Night with great Discomfort to myself; the Heat of the Sun, whose Rays are almost perpendicular in the Day-time; and the bad Water I had been forced to drink, throwing me into a violent Fever. Notwithstanding this I set out again next Day, and arrived at *Alcatil*, a large, and very populous City, but ill built and dirty, as are most of the Cities in *India*.

* So called from a Country of *Bisnagar*, on the Coast of *Comandel*. The Missionaries there have formed a Language of the *Portuguese* and *Tamul* intermixed; but, in such a Manner, that the *Portuguese* predominates in it. They also have introduced a great many *Tamul* Words, (into this new kind of Language) which are thought more expressive than the correspondent ones in the *Portuguese*.

† Nothing could be more natural than this Anger of the *Bramin*.

'Twas with Tears I beheld the sad Remains of a diabolical Ceremony which the *Moors* * have endeavoured to abolish, since their being Masters of the greatest part of this Country. Not many Days before, a Woman, either out of the Love she bore to her deceased Husband, or from a Desire of spreading her Name, had thrown herself on the funeral Pile, whilst her Husband was burning on it †, and in this manner had been consum'd to Ashes. There were still seen the Necklaces, Bracelets, and other Ornaments of that unhappy Victim of Satan, hanging on the Boughs of the Trees, which stood round the Place where this sad Ceremony was performed. A Mausoleum had also been erected there, to perpetuate the Memory of so heroic an Action; these People ranking, among their Deities, such of their Women as have the Courage to burn themselves alive with their deceased Husbands.

I lay, at *Alcatil*, in the House of a *Bramin*, who daily worshipped the Devil, under the Name and Figure of *Poolear*. Seeing this Idol standing in the Room where I was to lie, I thought proper to throw it upon the Ground. On the Morrow the *Bramin* came, with Flowers and Water, to honour the

* The *Mohammedans* are so called in *India*.

† Most of the *Heathens* used to burn the dead Bodies, but the *Christians* bury them. The *Indian* Women have burnt themselves, from Time immemorial, with their Husbands. The first *Romans* did not use to burn, but bury the dead Bodies, as is observed by *Pliny*. Nevertheless, they afterwards burnt them, and yet *Numa*, according to *Plutarch*, was buried; he having expressly forbid the burning of his Body, by his last Will. This Custom of burning dead Bodies, practised by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, was abhorred by some Nations. According to *Herodotus*, the *Persians* were averse to it, from an Opinion that Fire was a God. The *Egyptians* likewise did not burn dead Bodies, Fire, according to them, being an Animal; and they thought it not fitting that dead Bodies should be thrown to Beasts, in order to be devoured by them. The Custom among the *Romans*, of burning dead Bodies, ceas'd under the Empire of the *Antonines*.

God *Poolear* as usual, and to offer up a Sacrifice to him; when seeing the Idol thrown down, and a Kind of Altar set up by me, he retired, and left me at full Liberty to perform the Ceremonies of our holy Religion; and indeed I was as little undisturbed on this Occasion, as if I had been in a *Christian* City. This drew several Persons to the House, which gave me an Opportunity of speaking to them concerning God; and of observing, how unhappy they were, in not being acquainted with the supreme Being, sole Author of all Good. They listened attentively to me, but were not affected, not one of them then discovering the least Desire to turn *Christian*. I had the Consolation however to baptize a Child who was dying, and had been brought me to cure. I likewise left a Man and his Wife, of the Sect of the *Linganists*, in a very good Disposition of Mind. After having instructed them, I told the Husband that he must deliver up to me the *Lingan* which hung about his Neck. Upon hearing this he changed Countenance, his Eyes stared frightfully, and his Mouth continued half open; in a Word, he seemed quite another Man; but I being very urgent with him, he at last obeyed, and gave me his *Lingan*. This is a monstrous and abominable Figure, which some of the Idolaters wear about their Necks, as an Indication of their Zeal and Devotion to a kind of *Priapus*, the most infamous of all their Deities. The *Linganist's* Wife shewed much more Fervency than her Husband; she herself tearing from her own Neck, and from her Son's Arms, certain superstitious Writings which had been fastned to them. I baptized the Child.

Before I left *Alcatil*, I went and visited a famous *Linganist* Doctor, who had gained great Reputation in the whole Country; and found him reading a Book where Mention is made of the Lord of Heaven and Earth. After the usual Civilities, he asked me,
whether

whether the Law of that sovereign Lord was not the true Religion. I answered, that it certainly must be so, and that others were false. I added, that it would be unpardonable in him not to embrace, and obey its Precepts. He then spoke very favourably of the *Christian* Religion, and even shewed me some Books upon that Subject. I told him, that my only Desire was to instruct all Nations concerning the supreme Being he had mentioned; and therefore besought him to aid me in my holy Endeavours. *'Twould be lost Labour*, replied the Doctor; *the Indians have not Capacity enough for these exalted Matters, and will never be able to raise their Minds so high.... Tho' the infinite Perfections* (said I) *of this supreme Being are incomprehensible to Man; there yet is not one among them but may know him, so far as is necessary to Salvation. 'Tis, in some Measure, with God as with the Ocean; tho' our Eye cannot see over the whole Extent of it, and we can never fathom its Depths; we yet know so much as gives us an Opportunity of undertaking very long Voyages, and reaching the desired Port.* The Simile pleased him, but yet I could not prevail with him to turn *Christian*. The Morals of this Doctor were too corrupt; and the ponderous Lingan he wore about his Neck, was as the Seal of his Reprobation *.

I would gladly have converted the *Bramin* who had received me so kindly in his Habitation, and seemed to listen with Pleasure to my Instructions;

* This *Bramin* was not so ingenuous as some *Heathens*, who were conversing with a *Danish* Missionary. My Discourse (says the last mentioned) had this good Effect upon them, that they freely confessed I was faithful in my Allegations; and that they were convinced, 'twas their Duty to lead better Lives than they do. But God (said they) has made us as we are, surrounded with the enticing Allurements of this World; and hurried with the Cares and Business of this Life, so that we really forget the Affairs of the other World, which are purely Spiritual. See thirty-four Conferences between the *Danish* Missionaries, p. 245.

but

but he had three Wives whom he tenderly loved and the Passion he entertained for them, would not permit him to follow the Light held out by me. *Polygamy* has ever been one of the greatest Obstacles, in the East, to the Conversion of the Idolaters.

I left one of my Catechists in *Alcatil*, to instruct such Catechumens as I had made there, and resolved to pursue my Journey still westward; but met with great Obstacles on this Occasion. I heard that the *Moors* and *Marasts* *, were engaged in a cruel War in this Quarter; and that all the Ways were stopt. *I'll then go northward*, says I, immediately to those who (I thought) endeavoured to frighten me; and *after having travelled towards that Point, for some Time, will turn to the South-west*. They assured me, that I should meet with no less Impediments in those Parts, on Account of the Revolt of the *Paleagarens*, who are petty Princes tributary to the *Moors*. I plainly perceived, by their manner of speaking, that their only View was to stop my Journey, and prevent my going farther up into the Country. Regardless therefore of whatever they now said, I implored the Assistance of Heaven, and set out for *Veloor*, to the West of *Alcatil*.

I entred this great City, accompanied with my Catechists, some of whom were *Bramins*, at one of whose Houses I lodged, which gained me no little Esteem, and made the Natives consider me as a Sanias, of great Authority. This being talked of in the City, the *Dura* †, or Governor, attended by a considerable number of Persons of Distinction, came and paid me a Visit. I soon turned the Discourse to the sovereign Lord of all Things, and his wonderful Perfections; on which Occasion the *Dura* listned to

* These are Subjects of the famous *Sewagi*, who, in the last Age, made himself so formidable in *India*.

† *Durey*, in *French*.

me with Pleasure, and seemed, from his Conversation, not to be far from the Kingdom of God. The Fortrefs of *Velloor* is one of the most considerable in the whole Country. The Officers of this important Post were then at Variance with the chief *Bramins* of the City. The Governor asked me, whether they would not be soon reconciled. I answered, that it was absolutely necessary they should be Friends, and that as speedily as possible, since the *Moors* (as I observed) who surrounded them, took all the Advantages possible of their Feuds; that several *Marasts* were already gone over to them; and that they might naturally expect a greater number would soon follow their Example. The Governor, being well satisfied with my Answer, dismissed me, after saying a thousand civil Things, and assuring me I might depend upon his Protection. The *Bramins*, reflecting on the Advice I had ventured to give them, made an Alliance with the Officers of the Fortrefs, upon which an inviolable Friendship was promised on each Side. I did not fail to compliment the Governor upon it; and he was so well pleased with my Conduct, that he gave me a House, of which he himself put me in Possession; assuring me, at the same Time, that I should still find a greater Friend in him. Some Days after he sent for me, to ask my Opinion about the Distemper with which his Lady had been lately afflicted. Accordingly I visited her; and took that Opportunity to speak to her concerning Heaven, and the Necessity every Person is under of endeavouring to save his Soul. She listened attentively to my Discourse; and I left her, seemingly well inclined with regard to the *Christian* Religion.

As the *Moors* infested all the Country, and frequently made Incurfions to the very Gates of *Velloor*, nothing was talked of but War; and the People were entirely employed in making Preparations to defend

defend themselves and repulse the Enemy; and therefore I imagined it would be to no Purpose to endeavour to settle in that great City. For this Reason I only baptized twelve or fifteen *Parias*, and afterwards proceeded in my Journey westward.

The Face of the Country is beautiful, and seemed very populous; but was much more so before the *Moors* had usurped it. Tho' their Troops were spread up and down, they yet did me no Injury. I saw, in my Way, several little Towns; and, among the rest, *Palicond*, the Situation of which is delightful. The *Rajas Putres*, or Lords of those Cities, received me with the utmost Kindness and Civility. The Princes in question, who are of a very illustrious Caste, came from the North, and settling in these Parts, maintain themselves by the Protection of the *Moors*, whose Interest they espouse. I have often conversed with these *Rajas*, and always met with the kindest Treatment from them; and they even went so far as to declare, that they should be glad if some Missionary would settle in their Territories.

I afterwards went through a little Town called *Kuriyetam*, and took up my Quarters at a Tradesman's House. I there performed all the Exercises of our holy Religion, and preached Christ Jesus to his Family, which was very numerous; as well as to many other Persons who had never heard of our Saviour. The Tradesman struck with my Exhortations, brought me, with his own Hands, some Flowers and *Sanbrani*, (a kind of Incense,) in order that I might offer it to the true God. I should have been overjoyed had this *Heathen* made an Offering of his Person; but the Time for it was not come*.

Two

* In the *thirty-four Conferences between the Danish Missionaries*, &c. pag. 341, is a Letter from a *Heathen* to one of these Mis-

Two Days after I arrived at *Erudurgam*. This is a City, situated near the long Ridge of Mountains, which almost divides from one Extremity to the other, the great Peninsula of *India*, on this Side of the *Ganges* *. I was stopt at the Gate of this City; and that, because the famous *Ram-Raja*, who has atchieved such mighty Conquests in *India*, used formerly to seize upon several Towns and Fortresses by Surprise, disguised in the Habit of a *Sanias*, which I myself then wore. I told the Officers, that my only Views in coming to *Erudurgam*, was to preach the true God there; and to remove the Mists of Ignorance, which clouded the Minds of that People, with regard to their Salvation. My Answer satisfied them, for which Rea-

Missionaries, wherein the former gives the Reasons why the *Indians* reject the *Christian* Religion. “You are much astonished, says the *Heathen* in his Letter,) “at our Infidelity. But give “us Leave to tell you, that you have not sufficiently proved our “Law to be false and altogether erroneous; nor so clearly and “evidently proved the Truth of your own, that we should in- “considerately change the Religion of our Fathers, for that of “Foreigners and Sojourners in our Land: For I would have “you know, that as the *Christians* and *Mohammedans* derive “their Laws from God, so do we: For certainly, you can’t “imagine, that we hammered and forged a Religion to our- “selves, more than you. The *Mohammedan* will have his Re- “ligion to be absolutely the best; the *Christians* condemn all “but themselves; and we *Malabarians* think our Religion to “be the best for us; and question not but that the *Christians* “may be saved, if they lead Lives conformable to the Precepts “of their Religion. Which is the best Religion, is a difficult “Task to know; for even among ourselves we have many dif- “ferent Opinions; some affirming, that *Isuren* is the supreme “God, others stand up for *Wischinu*; and there are as many “learned Men who plead for the God *Tschiwens*; and I think “’tis Prudence not to trouble myself with the Truth or Falsity “of your Religion, ’till I first know which is the truest of the “many Opinions relating to Religion, that we entertain here “among ourselves.” Would it have been possible for an *Euro-
pean*, who had gone through a regular Course of Education, to have answered more pertinently?

* This must be the Mountain Gate or Balligate.

son they at last let me in, after having made me wait a considerable Time at the Gate. That very Evening I was visited by a *Mohammedan* Doctor, and some idolatrous *Bramins*. The former appeared to be a Person of Learning and Capacity, and asked me several judicious Questions. He spoke the *Tamul* Language with great Fluency and Elegance; a Circumstance that no-wise surprized me, when I found that he was a Native of the Kingdom of *Tanjaor*. His whole Behaviour spoke him a worthy Man; I would gladly have won him over to our Religion; but I staid only one Day in that Place; and this Doctor was a *Mohammedan*, that is, a Person still more remote from the Kingdom of Heaven than the *Heathens* themselves.

I now met with great Difficulties in travelling; I being obliged to wander over Mountains which were almost inaccessible; insomuch that the Catechists whom I had sent that Way, had been intimidated more than once at the Sight of them. They told me, that the Princes who live on the other Side of those Mountains, were at War; and consequently that it would be highly imprudent for me to venture, in so dangerous a Season, travelling into an unknown Country. The *Indians* are naturally fearful, and scared almost at their own Shadow. Nevertheless, being regardless of all they could say, I set out for *Peddu-nayaken, durgam*. Tho' 'tis but half a Day's Journey from *Erudurgam* to this City, we yet spent two Days in crossing dreadful Woods and Mountains, without knowing whither we were going, we having quite lost our Way. Besides our suffering greatly by Hunger and Weariness, we were terrified at the Howling of the Tygers, and other fierce Beasts which infest these Mountains. In this Extremity we fell to Prayers, and had Recourse to the blessed Virgin, who seemed to hear us; for, an Instant after, we struck into a Way which

which led us to the right Road ; and even met with Persons who were so humane as to conduct us to the neighbouring Village.

After taking a little Rest, we at last crossed the high Mountains, of which we had been told such terrible Things; and went thro' a large Town, without seeing one Soul in it; all the Inhabitants having abandon'd it, for fear of the *Moors* who over-ran the Country. At last, after undergoing many Fatigues, we arrived at *Peddu-nayaken-durgam*, a little Town, but at that Time very populous, occasioned by the great Number of People who flocked to it from the adjacent Parts; so that we could meet with no other Lodging than a poor Hut. Here we past the Night very disagreeably; and, next Morning, I went to the Fortrefs, to pay my Compliments to the Prince. I was stopt at the Door; and could not be admitted to Audience, till after having been questioned by some *Bramins*, who asked me a Variety of Particulars; and at last conducted me thro' many Windings, to the Apartment of the *Paleagaren*. He seem'd a good sort of a Man, and gave me a kind Reception; upon which I presented him with some Fruits of the Country, and a little Piece of Jett *, which is highly valued by the *Indians*. The Prince was seated; and before him was a kind of little Sofa, which he desired me to sit down upon. Imagining it would not be polite for me to be seated higher than the Prince, I spread my Tyger's Skin upon the Ground, as is the Custom of the Country; and then seating myself, I inform'd him of the Occasion of my coming, in these or the like Words. “ The only Motive, Sir, “ (says I) of my leaving my Native Country, and “ of coming hither (with infinite Fatigue) is to draw “ your Subjects out of the Darknes in which

* The Fossil so call'd.

“ they have so long been involved, by their wor-
 “ shipping false Deities, which are the Works of
 “ Man. There is one only Sovereign Lord of all
 “ Things, who created Heaven and Earth. ’Tis
 “ this supreme Master of the Universe whom all
 “ Men ought to know and obey. They must fol-
 “ low his Law, in Case they desire to be eternally
 “ happy; and ’tis in this holy Law that I am come
 “ to instruct your Subjects. In Case they learn its
 “ Precepts, and adhere faithfully to them, all
 “ Feuds and Divisions will immediately cease, and
 “ Injustice and Cruelty will no longer prevail; on
 “ the contrary, they will guide themselves entirely
 “ by a Spirit of Charity, Piety, Justice, and the
 “ rest of the Virtues. Faithful to the Monarch
 “ who governs them, they will perform the seve-
 “ ral Duties they owe their Sovereign Lord, and
 “ by that Means attain supreme Felicity.” After
 explaining to him the chief Attributes of God, and
 inspiring him with a very advantageous Idea of the
Christian Morality, I implor’d his Protection. This
 he promised me very graciously; and thereupon or-
 der’d a Place to be sought for, where I might be
 accommodated with a convenient Lodging; com-
 manding at the same Time one of his Officers to
 give me, as well as my Companions, the requisite
 Refreshments for that Day.

On the other side of the Mountains abovementioned, the only Language used throughout the whole Country is the *Talank* or *Canareen*. I nevertheless found, near this City, a great Town croud-
 ed with *Tamulers*, who had retir’d thither to secure themselves from the Cruelty of the *Moors*. I now was visited by several *Bramenati*, or Wives of the *Bramins*. They asked me various Questions, and among others, whether their Husbands, who were gone long Journies, would be successful, and return soon to their Native Country. I declared,

that

that I came not to impose upon them, as their false Doctors did daily, who misled them by Fictions, which they published with the utmost Pride and Ostentation; but that my Design was to shew them the way to Heaven; and point out the Methods necessary for their obtaining it, and at the same Time such Possessions as were eternal. They listened to me attentively; and then saluted me with great Civility, as they had done before, after which they withdrew, but without giving me the least hopes of their ever becoming Converts. Several Persons of less Quality, were afterwards urgent with me to instruct them; and these were consequently more tractable. Hence I was prompted to leave one of my Catechists, to dispose and prepare them for Baptism; and I myself promised to pass through their City at my Return.

I afterwards went to *Bairepalli*, where I found only one Man; all the Inhabitants having abandoned the Town for fear of the *Moors*. The next Day I travelled to *Tailur*, a little City belonging to another *Paleagaren*. It has a pretty good Fortrefs, where I said Mass, and met with the Master of a Family who listen'd attentively to me, and tho' a *Linganiſt*, seem'd earnestly desirous of working out his Salvation. I afterwards pass'd by *Sapoor*, a small Day's Journey from *Tailur*. *Sapoor* was formerly a very populous City, but is now merely a Village, where a great Number of *Tamulers*, who retir'd thither some Years since, listened to me with Pleasure, and promised to make use of the Methods I pointed out to them, in order to get instructed in the *Christian* Religion.

The same Day I arrived at *Coralam*, which the *Moors* have possess'd some Time. *Coralam* was one of the most considerable Cities in *India*; and though its Magnificence and Splendor are very much lessen'd, 'tis still very large and populous.

'Twas with great Difficulty I got into it, and it was still harder for me to find a Place to lodge in. The Persons with whom I resided, listned to me with Pleasure, when I talk'd to them of God; especially the Women, who said, that they would turn *Christians*, provided their Husbands would change also; it being the Custom in these Countries, for the Wives to profess the same Religion as their Husbands. For this Reason, a Missionary's first Care is to win over the Masters of Families; for these will make a greater Progress, in a short Time, towards converting the Persons under them, than the most fervent Catechists could do *.

I

* According to the Account given by the *Danish* Missionaries, the *Christian* Religion is taught, by some of the *Romanists*, in a very careless and imperfect manner, to the *Indians* in this Part of the World. The *Portuguese* Missionaries, in the Space of about two hundred Years, brought over to the *Romish* Persuasion almost all the Maritime Towns; but now this seems to be in a declining State; for few of the Missionaries learn the *Indian* Languages, so as to be able to teach the *Heathens*; but content themselves with reading the Mass in the *Latin* Tongue, and trust the Natives with the important Office of Preaching. But these are no Way qualified for so high an Employment, they knowing nothing else but to repeat the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and *Ave Maria*, and to sign themselves with the Sign of the Cross. Upon certain Festivals the *Portuguese* Fathers preach in their own Language, and that but very seldom. There is no disciplinary Institution observ'd among these *Christians*; so that they are more scandalously corrupted in their Manners than the *Heathens* themselves; and they symbolize with them in most of their Ceremonies; and there is little or no Difference between a *Portuguese* Church and a *Heathen* Pagod, with Regard to all outward Rites and Ceremonies, and the idolatrous Worship of Images. 'Tis reasonable to believe, that the first Missionaries were heartily zealous in persuading their new Converts of the Necessity of their living holy and pious Lives, worthy of the Gospel of Christ; but since the *Portuguese* Empire in these Countries has been destroy'd by the *Dutch*, the *Roman Catholic Christians* have but a mere Form of Godliness, without the Power thereof.

Thirty four Conferences with the Danish Missionaries, &c. page

I had many long Conferences with a *Bramin*, who ask'd me several Questions, and spoke a multitude of Things concerning the God *Bruma*. I demonstrated to him, the great Extravagance and Ridiculoufness of the Ideas which he entertain'd concerning the Deity. One Time he declared that *Bruma* had a Body, and another Time that he had none. " If *Bruma* (says I) has a Body, how is it possible for him to be present in all Places? And " if he has none, how can you affirm that the "*Bramins* sprung from his Forehead, Kings from " his Shoulders, and the rest of the Castes from " the other Parts of his Body * " ? This Objection puzzled

348, 349. Here we find the *Protestant* Missionaries reproaching the *Romish* Ones with their Remissness, in inculcating the Gospel. It does not appear, from the *Danish* Letter, whence the above Particulars are extracted, that the *Dutch* are any way solicitous to propagate the *Christian* Faith in their Colonies, the Letter-Writer in question observing, page 347. ' That, all the ' Churches super-intended formerly in these Countries by the ' *Portugueze* Missionaries, were brought over to the *Dutch* Discipline in the several Plantations, taken from the *Portugueze* by ' the *Dutch*. But in these Countries they have undertaken nothing ' in Favour of the *Christian* Religion, though they have many ' converted *Indians*, whereof some are Slaves.' The *Romish* Missionaries must necessarily have one troublesome Task, from which most of the *Protestant* Ones are exempt, I mean their teaching the Natives the Church-Service in *Latin*, which consequently is perplexing them with Prayers in a Language different from that in which they converse with those *Indians*. What a motley Piece of Work is this !

* In the first Conference of the *Danish* Missionaries, pag. 2, and 3, a *Bramin* does not employ quite such wild Assertions. ' We allow, (says the *Bramin*) but one primary and sovereign ' Being, the Source and Fountain of all created Derivations, ' and the Principle of all other inferior diminutive Beings; and ' constantly profess the great Triad of Deities, *Isuren*, *Wischtnu* ' and *Biruma*, acknowledge him for their sovereign Lord and ' Master, as the great Number of other Gods act under the Direction of the three forementioned Gods, *Isuren*, *Wischtnu* and ' *Biruma* : And this is the true Reason why our sacred Books make ' frequent mention of a Plurality of Gods; tho' really and in ' Truth,

puzzled him, and oblig'd him to leave me; but he promised to return, which he accordingly did with a *Moor*. The *Moor* who was a great Traveler, and had liv'd Three Years in *Goa*, fix'd his Eyes upon me; when raising his Voice, he cried aloud that I was a *Pranguis* †. These Words were as a Thunderbolt; I being persuaded that this single Suspicion would ruin all my Projects; and accordingly I was not mistaken.

One of the chief Men of the City had offered, some Days before, to build me a House, where I should be at full Liberty to perform the various Exercises of our holy Religion, and several Persons had promis'd to be instructed in it; but the Moment they heard what the *Moor* had said, the Notion of my being a *Pranguis* made so strong an Impression on their Minds, that they chang'd their Behaviour towards me in an Instant. However, they still continued to treat me honourably, but sent Word that it was not yet a proper Season for making a Settlement; that there would soon be a

‘ Truth, they are all of them but Vicegerents, and Lieutenants
 ‘ super-intending the Works of Creation, and the Actions of
 ‘ Men in their respective different Capacities, under the high
 ‘ Command of the prime Cause; whom we, in and through
 ‘ them, revere and worship: And our Adorations thus perform-
 ‘ ed, according to his own Prescriptions, are as acceptable to the
 ‘ supreme Being, as if immediately directed to himself.’ And
 pag. 7. ‘ God hath created both Good and Evil. Vice and
 ‘ Virtue, Happiness and Misery, owe all the Being they have
 ‘ to the prime Cause, without whose Will, nothing can exist
 ‘ or have a Being in this World. For if some Men are virtu-
 ‘ ous and holy, and others vicious and wicked, all this is but
 ‘ the Effect of the Will of God: And if we *Malabarians* are
 ‘ mistaken in point of Religion, 'tis the Will of God we should
 ‘ thus err.’ Hence it appears, that the *Malabarians* have some
 true Idea of the Divine Being, though intermix'd with many
 Errors, at the same Time that they are Fatalists.

† That is, an infamous Wretch, such as the *Indians* take the
Europeans to be. I believe the Word *Pranguis*, is from *Francus*,
 an *European*, by which Name the *Turks* call the *Western Europeans*.

new Governor; that it would be necessary to wait till he was chosen, and know his Opinion with regard to the Matter, and that this could not be done till some Months after. I soon discover'd, that all they said to me was only a decent way of disengaging themselves from their Promise, merely to get rid of me. How desirous soever I was to begin a Settlement in *Coralam*, where the Gospel-Labourers might meet with sufficient Employment; I yet concluded it would not be proper to continue any longer in a Place, where the Suspicion of my being a *Pranguis*, might be attended with ill Consequences with regard to our Designs; and therefore I resolved to leave it immediately. I then found myself in the Center, as it were, of the inland Countries, that is, at an equal Distance between the Coasts of *Cormandel* and *Malabar*. I would gladly have continued my Journey *Westward*; but the fear I was in of being known for a *Pranguis*, and the rainy Seasons drawing near, I, for that Reason, resolved to travel *Northward*, in order to meet, at some *Paleagaren's*, what I could never hope to find among the *Moors* *.

Accordingly I left *Coralam*; and the next Day, stopt at *Sonnakallu*, a Place surrounded with Mountains, which serve as a Defence to it. Here I had no Opportunity of seeing the *Paleagaren*, he having a Defluxion in his Eyes; but I paid my Compliment to his first Minister, who gave me an honourable Reception. I discours'd concerning our holy Religion to several Persons, who seem'd affected with what I said; they desiring me to send some Person to instruct them.

From thence I came to *Ramasa-mutteram*, a pretty considerable City; but before we entered it, my

* These *Moors* or *Mohammedans* have generally more Knowledge than the *Heathens*, for which Reason the Missionaries can sooner convert the latter.

Companions and I halted, in order to rest ourselves a little. We were no sooner seated, when a good Woman (a Widow) came up to us, to know who we were, and to enquire into our Designs. We inform'd her what they were; and said that we were Servants to the Sovereign Lord of the Universe; that we came to bring the Inhabitants of that City acquainted with him; and to shew them the Way to Heaven, from which (we observ'd) they were very remote. I added, that if any Person would be so kind, as to assist us in building a Temple to the Sovereign Lord in that Place, I would make some stay in it; and afterwards leave certain of my Disciples there, to teach such as were desirous of being instructed in our Religion. The Widow was pleased with the Proposal, and immediately offered me a small House belonging to her, but standing out of the City. I observ'd, that if we liv'd in the City, we should discharge our several Duties with greater Convenience to ourselves, and more to the Advantage of the Inhabitants. She replied, that I was in the right; that she herself would be at the Expence of the Building; and that, a few Months from thence, I need but send some of my People to her, to complete the Affair. I thank'd the Widow for her Good-will, and promis'd to let her hear from me.

I afterwards travell'd to *Punganoor*, which, tho' a large and very populous City, and the Capital of the Country, is yet dirty and ill-built. On the Morrow I went to the *Alvadar*, who is the Prime Minister, and, as it were Master of the Kingdom; the Monarch being but young, and seldom stirring out of the Fortreſs, wherein he resides with the Queen his Mother. The *Alvadar*, who was surrounded with a great Number of *Bramins*, receiv'd me very graciously. I desir'd him to present me to the King, but he answer'd, that this was not

a proper Time; and that I could not have an Opportunity of seeing him, till the Festival, then solemnizing with great Pomp, was ended. This forc'd me to make a longer stay in *Punganoor* than I should otherwise have done. I preach'd Christ in the middle of that great City; and the Inhabitants attended to me; but as most of them were *Linganists*, they were little affected with my Discourses. I converted only one Woman, with her four Children; together with a young Man of a happy Disposition, in the Service of a Nobleman, a *Moor*. This Youth resolved to leave his Master, and retire to his Native Country, there to profess the *Christian* Religion.

When I had been about a Fortnight in *Punganoor*, the *Alvadar* sent me Word, that Leave was granted me to raise a Church to the true God, upon any Spot I might chuse for that Purpose. I wanted to be admitted to the young King and his Mother, in hopes of winning over that Princess, of whom the greatest Character had been given me, to Christ; but in spite of all my Endeavours I was not permitted to see them. A *Tamuler*, a Man of good Sense, assured me, that the Reason of my being refused on that Occasion, was the *Alvadar's* fearing I should censure the King about the *Lingan*, which he had wore many Years round his Neck; but I am persuaded that could I have been able to make some Presents to the Monarch, and the Queen his Mother, I should easily have procur'd the wish'd-for Audience.

Before I left this great City, I baptiz'd Three Children of the Woman above-mentioned. With regard to the Woman herself, as she had long wore the *Lingan*, I thought it necessary to make her go through a longer Probation, as likewise her eldest Son, whom I took into my Service, in hopes of one Day making him an excellent Catechist; for, besides that already he was Master of several Languages,

guages, he could read and write the *Tamul* Tongue with great Accuracy. As I was preparing to baptize these Three *Catechumens*, ten or twelve *Tamulers* entered the Room, where the Ceremony was to be perform'd. Their Air and manner surpriz'd me, each of them holding in his Hand, one of the Instruments used in Building. Imagining they were sent in order to raise an Edifice to the true God, I enquir'd whether they really came for that Purpose. "We would gladly contribute to it," replied these honest People, "and should be delighted to share in so holy a Work; but all we can offer you is our Hands, and are extremely sorry we have nothing else to offer." I thank'd them for their pious Intention, and desir'd them to indulge it me on another Occasion. They were present at the Baptism of the Three *Catechumens*, at which they seem'd greatly edified; so that they entreated me to leave one of my Catechists to instruct them, which I did with Pleasure.

My Design, at my leaving *Punganoor*, was to go to *Terapadi*. This is a famous Pagod, towards the North, whither the *Heathens* go in Pilgrimage from all Parts of *India*, and carry considerable Presents; but I reflected that among the multitude of People who go thither on that Occasion, I might happen to meet with some Person who would declare me to be a *Pranguis*, and thereby entirely destroy the Work of God, for which Reason I resolved to return to *Tailur*. But this could not be done without great Difficulty; I being oblig'd to fetch a long Compass about, to avoid the *Moors*, who laid waste all the Country. After travelling a considerable Time, I stopp'd at a Pond, in order to rest myself, which an ancient Woman perceiving, came and sat down pretty near me. I spoke to her concerning her Salvation, and the Hazard she run of being lost to all Eternity. She

listned

listened with the utmost Attention, and in all Appearance, with great Sentiments of Piety. She understood perfectly the Particulars I inculcated, and repeated them exactly; whence I perceived that, at the same Time that my Words struck upon her Ear, the holy Spirit instructed her inwardly, and caused her to approve of every Thing I said. She seem'd exceedingly desirous of being baptized; but I making some Scruple to comply with her Wishes, she represented, that as she was near an hundred Years of age, and oppressed with Infirmities, she could not possibly be conveyed to any *Christian* Church, and consequently would be in imminent Danger of never receiving that Sacrament, which is necessary to Salvation; and observed farther, that I might be persuaded, 'twas for this Reason that God had conducted my Steps to the Pond-side. She conjured me, with a Flood of Tears, not to refuse her earnest Request; adding, that as I found her sufficiently instructed, I surely could not but yield to her earnest Intreaties, and baptize her with the same Water, to which the Lord, by so peculiar a Providence, had led us both. I then complied; on which Occasion, Baptism seemed to give new Vigour to her Body, and diffuse inexhaustible Joy over her Soul.

I took up my Abode at *Tailur*, with my former Host, who received me in the best Manner he could. Though a *Linganist*, I left him in a very good Frame of Mind. If he becomes a Convert to Christianity, as he promised he would, I am certain he will win over a great number of his Countrymen to our holy Religion; and that his Family, which is very numerous, will follow his Example.

I returned by *Peddu-nayaken durgam*, and left two of my Disciples * there, this being a Country where

* The Reader may have observed on these Occasions, how apt these Jesuits are to express themselves in the Style of the first Apostles.

great Things may be wrought. I found many People who were as tractable as I could wish, and who owned ingenuously, that, being surrounded with Woods and Mountains, they lived like so many Brutes. “Hearken to me (says I) and I’ll shew
 “you the Way to the heavenly Kingdom, and the
 “Manner how to attain eternal Felicity. Open your
 “Eyes to the Light which I have brought you,
 “and suffer yourselves to be led”. Some promised to be instructed by the Persons I left with them; and others frankly confessed, that the Kingdom I spoke to them about, was not made for them, and therefore that ’twould be in vain to talk about it *. This was not a proper Season for me to attempt to undeceive them with regard to their gross Error; for as my sole Intention in undertaking this Journey, was to discover the Country; and to enquire into all such Particulars, as might best contribute to promote the Design I had in view, viz. of establishing the *Christian* Faith there, in the most permanent Manner; I made no longer Stay, in the several Places I visited, than was just necessary for me to get the proper Informations.

When I passed through *Velloor*, I had promised to baptize certain Catechumens at my Return, in case I should find them sufficiently instructed. For this Reason I was desirous to set out for that City, not considering the Danger to which I should thereby expose myself, and the Condition that Place was then in. The *Moors*, who had long fixed their Eye upon this Town, had blocked it up in a great Measure, and overrun the whole Country. I myself had the ill Fortune to be taken by them, at a Pass which

* I have given the Relation of this Jesuit pretty much at large; it appearing, to me, to be writ with an agreeable Simplicity; and giving a very natural Account of the Methods employed by that Sett of People, in their Endeavours to convert the Idolaters among whom they wander.

they had seized a quarter of an Hour before my Arrival. I now was carried before the Captain who commanded that small Corps. He looked very sternly upon me, and gave me no very gracious Reception at first; however, he softened, and dismissed me civilly enough next Day. I would not enter *Velloor*, for fear of raising some Suspicion in the *Moors*, who would certainly have harrassed me; but, on the contrary, set out for *Alcatil*, where I arrived safe. Here News was brought, that the Catechists whom I left in *Velloor*, had fled at the Approach of the *Moors*, and been taken by them, merely through their own Imprudence; and likewise, that after having been stripped and plundered, they had been tied to Trees. This News afflicted me greatly; however, I adored the Conduct of divine Providence with regard to us, and submitted to God's holy Will.

I made some Catechumens in *Alcatil*, and should certainly have brought over a greater Number, had not all the Inhabitants of that Town been employed in solemnizing the Festival of one of their most famous Deities. The Master of the House where I lodged was strangely bigotted to his false Deities, and very zealously devoted to their Service. During my short Stay, I gave him so exalted an Idea of our Religion, that he would gladly have divided the Flowers which were brought him daily, between the true God whom we worshipped in his House, and the Devil he adored in the Temple, erected by him before his Habitation; but I told him that those two Worships were incompatible; and that a Man could not serve two Masters; cou'd not reconcile Light and Darkeness, nor the true God with *Poolear*. I beseech the Lord to enlighten this charitable Man, whose Conversion must necessarily be of the highest Advantage to our holy Religion. I quitted *Alcatil* with regret, but it was high Time for

for me to return to *Caroovepondi*, which I had left two Months before.

The Advantage I have gained by these Journies is, I now know the several Places wherein Missionaries may be settled, and to which Catechists may be sent. The Season seems to be come, for us to labour with Success at the Conversion of the Idolaters of those Countries, which have so long been overspread with Darknes. All imaginable Dispatch should be used, lest the *Mohammedans*, who get Possession of all these Countries by insensible Degrees, should force the Inhabitants of them to embrace their abominable Religion. No Circumstance is of greater Edification to those Idolaters, or is a stronger Inducement to them to turn *Christians*, than the austere and penitent Life which the Missionaries lead. A Missionary of *Carnata* and *Madura* is not allowed to drink Wine, or to eat Flesh, Eggs, or Fish. His only Food ought to consist of some Pulse or Roots, a small Portion of Rice boiled in Water, or a little Milk, and of this he should eat but seldom. Such as are desirous of converting the Idolaters in question, must follow this strict Course of Life; these *Heathens* being firmly of Opinion, that those who undertake to teach and guide others, ought to lead much more perfect Lives than those they instruct.

A Re

*A Relation * of the State of the Missions in China, presented at Rome, in 1703, to the General of the Jesuits, by Father Francis Noel, a Jesuit Missionary. Translated from the Latin.*

OUR Portuguese Fathers, who first founded this Mission, had built a great number of Churches, when the *French* Jesuits arrived in it, about twenty Years since. There were upwards of an hundred Churches, and an hundred thousand Converts in the single Province of *Nankin*: But ever since the Time that the *French* Jesuits have ingratiated themselves into the Affections of the *Chinese* Monarch, Christianity has been in a much more flourishing State. The *Portuguese* Jesuits have, among other Things, built a Church in *Peking* for the Women, an Edifice which had been long wanted. Churches are not common to both Sexes in *China*, as in *Europe*; Custom and Decency not permitting Men and Women to meet in the same Place, and such Assemblies would be considered as monstrous in *China*. For this Reason the *Chinese* Ladies have little Chapels for themselves, to which the Missionaries go, with the utmost Circumspection, and there preach to them from a Grate, and likewise administer the Sacraments. As these Ladies are naturally virtuous and innocent, they imbibe the Principles of Religion with Ease, and practise its Duties with Modesty and Fervency. Those of *Peking*

* I have only borrowed some Particulars from this Relation, the rest not being to my Purpose. Perhaps some may think those I have selected here not very material: But I would gladly give some Pleasure to all Sorts of Readers. Very probably this Jesuit may enlarge, when he speaks of the vast number of Converts; the Progress which the *Christian* Religion makes, &c. in *China*: Doubtless many will think he amplifies.

have signalized their Zeal in a particular Manners; by enriching their new Church with the most valuable Things; some having given, to adorn the Altars, their Pearls, Diamonds, and other Jewels, as was formerly done by the Women of Condition of the old Law.

The *French* Jesuits, in Imitation of the *Portuguese*, have also built several Churches, and are still raising others. They are going to build a fourth Church in *Peking*. There are now upwards of seventy Jesuits in *China*, which are more than the number of Bishops, Priests, and Monks of other Orders put together. The Jesuits of *Peking* baptize above six hundred adult Persons yearly; and as to children, they baptize many more, especially of such as are dropt or exposed every Morning in the Streets. 'Tis surprizing that so shocking a Custom should prevail, in a Country whose Government is so regular as that of *China*. As *Peking* is excessively populous, and that those Persons who think they have more Children than they can maintain, don't scruple to drop them in the Streets and Places of public Resort, where they either die miserably, or are devoured by Beasts; one of our first Cares is to send, every Morning, Catechists into the different Parts of that great City, in order to baptize such of those Children as are not dead. About twenty or thirty thousand Children are exposed yearly, and of these our Catechists baptize about three thousand; and had we twenty or thirty Catechists, few of the Children in question would die unbaptized.

The *Christian* Religion makes a much greater Progress in the Provinces, than in *Peking*, some Fathers baptizing, with their own Hands, two thousand *Christians* yearly in the Provinces. Religious Assemblies are also formed here: And the Women, fired by the Example of the other Sex, have also established such Societies among themselves. About
eight

eight hundred Women of Condition, in *Peking*, meet in different Parts of the City, when they instruct one another in the *Christian* Faith, and employ their utmost Endeavours to convert those of their Sex. With regard to the Question asked us, whether we convert Persons of Quality, Literati, and Mandarins in *China*, as well as those of the lower Sort? I reply, that according to our Ideas in *Europe*, most are *Plebeians*, as it were, in *China*; and that there are no Nobility in this Country, except Princes of the Blood, a small number of *Tartarian* Princes, and some particular Families on whom the Emperor bestowed certain honourable Titles. As all the Persons in question reside commonly at Court, or in *Tartary*, 'tis no wonder, that among the Converts made in the Provinces, a few of them only should be Persons of Distinction. I know but one *Tartarian* Prince, out of the Court, who turned *Christian* a few Years since, with his Wife, and above fifty of his Domesticks. His Family is illustrious and greatly distinguished among the *Tartars*, his Uncle having married the Aunt of the late Emperor *Chunche*. There consequently are none but *Plebeians* to convert in the Provinces. Experience shews in *China*, as in all other Countries, that it is extremely difficult for a rich and powerful Man, particularly for a *Heathen*, to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Nevertheless, besides the Trades-people, Soldiers, Artificers, Peasants, and Fishermen, who commonly form our Congregations, there also are some Bachelors, Doctors, and even Mandarins, but few of these, except of such as belong to the Tribunal of the Mathematicks in *Peking*. The great Mandarins, the general Officers of the Armies, and chief Magistrates of the Empire, esteem Christianity, but cannot be prevailed upon to embrace it.

'Tis easier to propagate the *Christian* Religion in the Provinces than in the Cities, as greater Liberty is allowed in the former. In Cities all Persons are dependant on the Governor and the Mandarins; and Visits must be paid them, which cannot be done, (according to the Ceremonial established in *China*,) without making them Presents, &c. whereas the Missionaries are allowed to exercise their several Functions in the Country, without asking Leave of any Person for that Purpose. The Converts are usually most fervent in the Beginning. There are some entire Provinces in *China*, which have not so much as heard of Christ's Name. The Missionaries are obliged to be at all the Expence for building Churches, making Converts, &c. it not being proper to desire the Contributions of the *Chinese* Converts for this Purpose, for otherwise they would confound our Missionaries with the *Chinese Bonzes*, these subsisting on the Alms of their Disciples. Was *China* once converted, we might carry the Faith into *Tartary*, which is a vast Field, and would employ the Gospel-labourers many Years. *Eastern Tartary* grows more and more populous every Day, the Emperor causing Cities to be built, and many well-peopled Villages are found in it. As to *Western Tartary*, there are no Towns or Villages in it, except towards the *Usbeck Tartars*, and the *Caspian Sea*; notwithstanding which, this wide-extended Country is governed by different Nations, whom the Emperor of *China* has subjected of late Years, to his Empire. The Riches of these Nations consist wholly in their numerous Flocks, with which they wander from Place to Place, they seldom staying above three Months on one Spot. After having consumed all the Forage, they remove their Tents, and travel to some other Part, where they live in like Manner, and afterwards abandon it.

The Conversion of these roving *Tartars* would be difficult, because of the high Regard they pay their *Lamas*, who, being their Teachers, are implicitly obeyed by them in all Things.

'Tis now some Years since the Jesuits formed the Design of settling at *Chinyan*, the Capital of *Leaotung* *, and of all *Eastern Tartary*. This is a considerable City, and the Emperor has established four sovereign Tribunals there, where all the Affairs of the *Tartars* are determined finally; for *Leaotung* is now looked upon as a Part of *Tartary*; its Inhabitants are no longer considered as *Chineze*, but true *Tartars*. I don't doubt but that the *Tartarian* Prince, (the Convert which I mentioned before,) will use his utmost Endeavours to forward our Designs. 'Tis now about two Years since he retired to *Chinyan*, with his whole Family, whose Fervency increases daily. In case a Mission was well established in this City, we might easily get from thence into the Kingdom of *Corea*, which also is tributary to the Empire of *China*, and of much greater Extent than is represented in our Maps. We afterwards might, perhaps, find Means to enter *Japan*, which is separated from *Corea* only by a narrow Streight.

* 'Twas by this Country that the *Tartars* entered *China*, when they seized upon the Empire. Father *le Comte* observes, that 'tis wrongly situated in all our Maps; they placing it in *China*, to the South of the great Wall, whereas 'tis really in *Tartary*, to the North of that Wall. 'Tis thus fixed (agreeably to Father *le Comte's* Observations) in *Moll's* Maps. The Author of the *Dutch Embassies to China*, Part 2. declares *Leaotung* to be within the great Wall, but in all Probability is mistaken. According to the last mentioned Travels, the Inhabitants of *Leaotung*, are ignorant and stupid, but very good Warriors, and inured to Toils; and they profess the Religion of the *Chineze*, but follow the Customs of the *Tartarians*, their Neighbours.

Father PETER MARTIN, to Father LE GOBIEN.

Aoor, in the Kingdom of Madura,
Dec. 11, 1760.

Reverend Father,

I Now acquit myself of the Promise I made, and will give you the Sequel of such Particulars as I had not Time to finish in my last Letter.

After residing near a Month in *Camien-naiken-patti*, because of the Commotions which at that Time infested the Kingdom, whereby the Roads were rendered unpassable, I set out from thence for *Aoor*, the principal House of the Mission of *Madura*.

Father *Bouchet*, who has the Direction of that House, and to whom I am partly obliged for the Favour indulged me by the *Portugueze* Jesuits, (I mean my being allowed to join their Mission,) hearing that I was arrived on the Frontiers of *Madura*, but at the same Time was prevented from proceeding farther, because the Soldiers infested the Roads, sent a zealous *Christian*, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Ways, to meet me. Accordingly I set out with this Guide, who immediately led me out of the high Road, into the Country of the Caste of Thieves, so called, because the several Individuals of it were formerly professed Robbers. Tho' most of the People in question are turned *Christians*, and detest every Thing that has the least Tendency to Theft, they yet retain their former Appellation; and Travellers are afraid of passing through their Forests. The first Missionaries of *Madura* were so happy as to gain the Esteem of that Caste; so that, at this Time, there is scarce any Place

Place in the Kingdom, where we are better received, or live in greater Security, than in their Woods. Should any one among them, even of such as have not abandoned Idolatry, be so rash as to pilfer even the least Trifle from a Doctor of the Law of the true God, he would be punished for it in an exemplary Manner. However, as natural Disposition and inveterate Habits are not easily rooted out, the Fathers oblige such as offer to become Converts, to undergo a strict Probation; but these, when once they are turned *Christians*, so far from robbing, or doing the least Injury to any Person, dissuade, to the utmost of their Power, their Countrymen from that and every other kind of Villainy.

This Caste of Thieves are become so powerful within these few Years, that they have made themselves independent, in some Measure, on the King of *Madura*, and by that Means pay him what Tribute they please. Not above two Years since, the Caste in question, joining with a Prince who pretended a Right to that Crown, besieged the City of *Madura*, formerly the Capital of this Kingdom, and taking it, kept it in their Possession; however, they did not enjoy it long, they being less able to defend a City in Form, than to make a sudden Attack. The Moment the *Talavai*, by which Name the Prince, who now governs the Kingdom under the Queen is called, received News of the seizing of this important Place, he assembled his Forces; set out upon his March, arrived in the Night before the City; broke open one of its Gates by the Assistance of three or four Elephants; and entered it, with part of his Forces, before the Enemy had Time to fortify themselves, or even to draw together. Many of the Thieves were killed in the Onset, and a much greater Number taken Prisoners. However, the rebellious Prince had the good Fortune to escape, and to retire into the Woods be-

longing to his Caste, which, since that Time, has been much more obedient to the Government.

'Twas thro' the midst of these Woods that I past without the least Danger, and travelled to *Ariepaty*, one of their chief Towns. We formerly had a Church in it, but the Edifice has been since ruined, together with the Fortrefs, which the Prince of *Madura* demolished, after making himself Master of it. Upon my Arrival I withdrew, with my People, under some Trees, which stood a little out of the Road, with the Design of staying till the scorching Heat was abated; but scarce had I been a quarter of an Hour there, when I perceived the chief Man of *Ariepaty* come towards me, accompanied by the principal Inhabitants, who saluted me, by prostrating themselves before the Gospel-labourers, (as the *Christians* do in every Part of the Mission,) to shew the Idolaters the Reverence they bear to such as teach the holy Law. As there were many *Heathens* among the Persons who came to salute me, the *Christians* drew apart from them, in order to receive my Benediction in private. Both Parties seemed vastly pleased at my Arrival, and invited me to their Town. Upon my declaring that I wanted to get to my Journey's End, and for that Reason could not make any Stay with them, they sent me Milk, Rice, Herbs, and Fruits, for me and my Companions.

The Men withdrawing, the Women came and saluted me; and earnestly besought me to press the Fathers, among whom I was going, to send some Missionary, to rebuild their Church in *Ariepaty*; and to instruct a great Number of their Countrymen, who were desirous of hearing God's Word, and of becoming Converts to our Religion. I assured them, that the Fathers earnestly wished to do them every Kind of Service, to build Churches, and increase the Number of the Worshippers of the
true

true God among them. That a Father would soon arrive among them; and that I myself would willingly have resided in their Country, had I not received Orders to go, with all possible Speed, to *Aoor*. The *Indians* seemed satisfied with my Answer, and lent me Guides, who were to conduct me to a Place two Days Journey from thence.

I now set out again, and arrived, that very Day, at a little Village, situated between two Mountains, and famous for the Robberies committed in it. I had already chose a Place to pass the Night in, when one of the chief Inhabitants came to me, and declared that I could not be safe there; that he was afraid lest some Accident should befall me in the Night; and that therefore, if I would but follow him, he would lodge me in a secure Place. "For
 " should any Wretch (says he) be so inconsiderate,
 " as not to shew you due Reverence; his Indiscre-
 " tion would affect the whole Village, which thereby
 " would become odious to the whole Nation". I resigned myself wholly to the Conduct of this worthy Man, who led me to the finest and largest Pagod *

G g 4

I ever

* The *Portuguese* gave this Name to all the Temples of the idolatrous *Eastern Indians*. The Pagods in *China* and *Siam* are very magnificent and richly adorned. But in the Country Places, in *Tonquin*, the Pagods are poor, wooden Buildings, barely covered with Thatch, and sometimes but just large enough to hold the Image contained in them; but they are a little handsomer in great Towns. If Father *Gemelli* may be credited, there is a Pagod in the Island of *Canorin* or *Salsette*, which Pagod is considered as one of the Wonders of *Asia*. The common People are of Opinion, that they were built by Giants, but how long since, none of these *Indians* pretend to determine. The Father informs us, that this Pagod is built on the Side of a high Hill, and is cut out of a solid Rock. The Ascent to it is by a great number of Steps; the Roof is arched; the Pillars and Doors are very splendid; and the Temple is divided by thirty grand Columns, into three Isles; and a Sort of Cupola is seen at the End. 'Tis filled with the same Kind of Images as are seen in other Temples. 'Tis also related, that about five
 Miles

I ever saw in this Kingdom. 'Tis almost fourscore Foot long, and forty-eight broad; but its Cieling

Miles from *Doliabad*, towards *Bombay*, are the renowned Pagods of *Elora*, standing near the Place so called. 'Tis said, that there are such vast Numbers of them, that they fill a Plain of five or six Miles, standing on the Summit of a high Rock, out of which most of them are cut. One of these Buildings consists of three Temples, one upon the other, with their several Walls, Doors, Columns, and Roofs, all cut out of the solid Rock. Scarce any of these Pagods are above forty Foot high, and receive the Light only at the Door. There are a prodigious number of Pagods in *China*, and the most celebrated of them are built upon Mountains. Father *du Halde*, in his voluminous Work concerning *China*, informs us, where he treats of the magnificence of the *Chineze* in their public Edifices, &c. that the Mountains on which these Pagods are raised, how barren soever they may appear, are rendered vastly beautiful by Art. "The
 " Canals (says he) which are cut at a vast Expence, carry the
 " Water, from the Mountains, into Basons and Reservoirs dug
 " for that Purpose: And the Gardens, Groves and Grotto's,
 " made in the Rocks in order to shelter from the excessive Heat
 " of the Climate, render these Solitudes delicious.

" The Buildings consist of Portico's, paved with large, square polished Stones; and of Halls and Pavilions, built at the Angles of Courts, which communicate by long Galleries, adorned with Stone Statues, and sometimes brazen ones. The Roofs of these Edifices are very resplendent, the Tiles being extremely beautiful; japaned with Green and Yellow, and enriched at the Extremities with Dragons.

" To most of these Pagods belong a great Tower, standing by itself, and terminating in a Dome, to the Top of which People go up, by a Stair-case winding about it. In the Centre of the Dome stands commonly a Temple, of a square Figure, the Cieling of which is adorned with Mosaic, and the Walls with Stone Figures, representing various Animals and Monsters.

" Most of the *Chineze* Pagods are in the Form described above; and these are larger, or less, according to the Devotion or Wealth of the Persons who contributed to the raising of them. They are inhabited by the *Bonzes* and Idol-priests, who employ a thousand Arts to impose on the Credulity of Mankind, who come at a great Distance, in Pilgrimage to these Temples". There seems only this Difference, on the present Occasion, between the *Bonzes* and the Jesuits, that the *Chineze* come, from a great Distance, to visit and be fool'd by the *Bonzes*; whereas the Jesuits undertake a very long Voyage, to impose upon the *Chineze*.

is not high enough, a Fault we see in all the Temples of *India*. 'Tis supported by various Pillars, carved in a good Taste enough, and all of one Stone. The Portico, or Entrance into the Temple, and which extends the whole Breadth of it, is supported in like Manner by eight Stone Columns, carved. The Bases and Capitals of these Columns are in a different Taste from ours, but 'tis no ways barbarous, and would please in *Europe*. There is not one Window in this Temple, which is built of fine Free-stone. The deep Gloom and horrid Stench found in this Place, seemed to denote its being consecrated to the Devil. I past the Night under the Portico. The Water brought me thither to refresh me, smelt as strong as if taken from a common Sewer; so that I could not taste it; and therefore would not take any Sustenance for fear of increasing my Thirst.

I proceeded in my Journey next Day, and went and lay in a Village, where I hoped to meet with some Refreshments: But the War which infested the Country, had obliged all the Inhabitants to fly from it, so that I was forced to pass that Night likewise without eating. Nevertheless, I set out from thence, on the Morrow (being *Sunday*) long before Day-break, in order to say Mass in a little Church, which our Fathers had built, not long before, in the Middle of the Woods. As soon as I was arrived there, and had informed the *Christians* of my Design, they intreated me to allow them Time to assemble all the Converts in the Neighbourhood; and these came accordingly, but in such Numbers, that the Church was not large enough to contain them all. Words could scarce describe the Joy which these *Neophytes* discovered, at their being so happy as to hear Mass *. I confessed the Sick,

and

* The Jesuits are thought to enlarge pretty much, when they mention the mighty Progress they make in their Conversions,

and was going to set out, when there arrived a Croud of *Christians*, from a Town situated at the Distance of three Hours Walk from thence, who invited me to spend some Days with them. I told them that I would very gladly have visited them, but that this was no ways a proper Season, I having been assured that the Army would march in a few Days through their City; and that as I had crossed the Woods purposely to avoid meeting it, 'twould be imprudent in me to run myself unnecessarily into Danger, which, by the Goodness of Providence, I had escaped hitherto. I concluded with saying, that as I knew one of our Fathers had visited them lately, I therefore desired them to give me Leave

sions, as well as the Honours which they declare to be paid them, and the mighty Civilities they meet with.

Notwithstanding what we were told by the Jesuits, concerning the spreading of the *Christian* Faith in *Tonquin*, and the many Churches built by them in that Kingdom, yet our Countryman *Dampier* informs us, that when he was there, the Missionaries declared to him, that the King of that Country, and the great Men, were utter Enemies to the *Christian* Religion, and that none but the poorer Sort of People embraced it; and *Dampier* is of Opinion, that these were brought over merely because of the Rice given them by the Missionaries, who (we are told) did not dare to avow their Mission openly, but resided in *Tonquin* in Quality of Merchants, and were not suffered to live in *Cachao*, except when the Mandarins sent for them, in order to be instructed in the Mathematicks, or to get their Clocks or Watches mended, on which Occasions the Fathers used to make Converts. An Author, inserted in the *religious Customs and Ceremonies of all Nations, illustrated with Figures* by Picart, Vol. III. pag. 271, London, 1731, fol. observes, "that the lowest *Christians* or *Parias*, are held in the utmost Contempt by the rest of the *Indians*, who know very well, that most of those who embrace Christianity, are a Set of beggarly Creatures; for which Reason they call them *Christianos d' Aros*, or *Rice Christians*, thereby intimating, that the sole Motive why they change their Religion is, to procure themselves the Necessaries of Life with greater Ease, and to be sure of some Rice to eat, there being no Bread in this Country". If this be true, the Zeal of these Converts may be resolved into that vulgar Expression, Cupboard-Love.

to proceed in my Journey. They yielded to my Intreaties, but with Regret, and conjured me to pray for them.

I arrived, in two Days Journey from thence, at *Serrhine*, the usual Residence of one of our Missionaries, but did not find him there; the Father being gone, some Months before, upon his Visitation, among the *Christians* of the Mountains of *Madura*; but I had the Consolation to meet with Father *Bouchet*, who was come to administer the Last Sacraments to a *Christian* in his expiring Moments, and had expected me four or five Days. Tho' I had seen this illustrious Missionary before in *Pondichery*, I now embraced him with fresh Testimonies of Tenderness and Respect, for his having been so instrumental in getting me received into that Mission. As he had been persecuted not above three Months before, and was not quite recovered of a Fit of Sickness, with which he was afterwards afflicted, he looked very pale and weak. Here follows the Occasion of his being persecuted.

Three Catechists forgetting their Duty, and the sacred Character of the Ministry with which they were invested, were guilty of such dissolute Practices, that it was judged necessary to divest them of their Employments. These Wretches, instead of profiting by the sage Admonitions which were given them, and reforming their Lives, threw off the Mask, turned Apostates, and resolved to ruin both the Missionaries and the Mission. To succeed in their detestable Design, they brought three Accusations against the Gospel-preachers. First, that they were *Pranguis*, or *Europeans*; an infamous Sett of People, who consequently must be hated by the whole Nation. Secondly, that tho' they had been long settled in the Kingdom, and had the Direction and Government of a great number of Churches, they yet had never paid the least Thing to the King.

2

Thirdly,

Thirdly, that our Missionaries assassinated a Friar of another Order, which (they declared) had made them so odious to the Pope, that he had refused to canonize Father *John de Brito*, who fell a Martyr to the Faith in *Marava*. Though this was a shocking and ridiculous Calumny; (the Friar whom they pretended had been assassinated being then at *Surat*, in his Return from *Rome*, where his Holiness had made him a Bishop;) it nevertheless was greatly to be feared, as the wretched Apostates in question offered to give the Prince twenty thousand Crowns, provided he would extirpate the *Christians*, that they at last would prevail to get all the Gospel-labourers banished the Kingdom, especially Father *Bouchet*, against whom they had a particular Spite.

This zealous Missionary had first Recourse to God, to implore his Protection; and then, in order to prevent these pernicious Designs from taking effect, he resolved to go and salute the Prince Regent, and implore his Protection. This was so bold a Step, that no Missionary had ever presumed to take it, lest the Colour of his Face should betray and discover him to be an *European*; the Prince above-mentioned detesting the *Pranguis* to such a Degree, that, notwithstanding his being engaged in a dangerous War, he yet had dismissed from his Service not long before, some very skilful Gunners (whose Assistance, one would have concluded, he absolutely wanted) the Moment he heard they were *Europeans*.

But Father *Bouchet*, putting his whole Confidence in the Almighty, prepared his Presents, went to the City, and proceeded to the Palace, where he desired an Audience of the Prince, who, as was observed, governs under the Queen *. This Princess,

Guardian

* This Princess's Name is Mangamal. She had, by King Clocanada-naiken her Husband, a Son, named Renga mutu vira-

Guardian of the Realm, educates very carefully her Grandson, a Prince about fourteen or fifteen Years of Age, to whom the Kingdom belongs; she, at the same Time, entrusting the *Talavai*, or Prince-Regent, entirely with the Administration, of which he is absolute Master. This Regent's Conduct is so very sagacious and equitable, that he is thought to be the greatest Minister that ever governed *Madura*.

But how disinterested soever this Prince might be, yet Father *Bouchet* imagined it would be improper to appear before him, without observing the Ceremonial of the Country, that is, without making some Presents *. Those prepared by the Missionary were of no great Value, but then they were of a new Kind, and all he could bestow. He had brought with him a terrestrial Globe, about two Foot diameter, on which the Names of the several Kingdoms, Provinces, Coasts, and Seas, were writ in the *Tamul* Language; another Globe, of Glass, about nine Inches diameter, cut within like Looking-glasses; some multiplying and burning Glasses; several *Chinese* Curiosities sent him from *Cormandel*; many Bracelets, of Jet, adorned with Silver; a Cock made with Shells, very neatly and skilfully wrought: To conclude, several common Looking-glasses, and such Curiosities which they had either purchased, or received as Presents. The Father also concluded, that it would be necessary to obtain the Favour of some Courtiers, in order that they might speak in his Behalf, and procure him a favourable Audience; it being of the utmost Importance, that he should be introduced to *vira-Krisnapa-naiken*, (how uncouth are these Names!) a very promising Prince, who died of the Small Pox; leaving his Queen with Child of a Son, who is now King of *Madura*, under the Guardianship of his Grandmother.

* Thus we see, that a Spirit of Venality insinuates itself even into Courts situated in the most remote Countries, whose Inhabitants are not refined into Vice by Education, nor have scarce any Correspondence with other Nations.

tance, both for the Honour of Religion, and the Good of the Church of *Madura*, that the Doctors of the holy Law should be received with Distinction the first Time they appeared at Court; a Circumstance which would enforce the Authority of their Ministry in the Minds of the common People, who obey implicitly the Will and Inclinations of their Sovereign *.

The Father having thus taken all the prudent Measures he judged necessary, in order to succeed in his Design, reposed the utmost Confidence in God, in whose Hands are the Hearts of Princes, which he disposes of at Pleasure. He was not mistaken, the *Talavai*, or Prince-Regent, receiving him with greater Honour and Distinction than he could possibly have expected. The Prince not only rose up the Moment the Father appeared, but saluted him in the same Manner as Disciples here salute their Masters, and the common People their Lords; which is performed, by joining both Hands, and then raising them to the Forehead. Father *Bouchet*, to maintain his Character, and return this favourable Reception, saluted the Prince as Masters do their Disciples, by opening his Hands, and stretching them towards the Prince, by way of receiving him. The Regent then caused the Missionary to sit down by him, on a Kind of Sofa, with this Mark of Distinction, that the Sofa being too narrow for two Persons to be seated conveniently upon it, the Prince straitned himself; made the Father sit by him, and even laid his Knees on those of the Father.

* The Jesuits are considered as supreme Politicians on these Occasions, no Sett of People being better versed in the Arts of Insinuation: And 'tis no wonder they should be able to ingratiate themselves at the Courts of these *Indian* Princes, since they find Means to glide into others, where Learning, and the polite Arts, are in the most flourishing State.

A Man must be as well acquainted, as we are, with the Customs of this Country ; and the natural Detestation which the Natives of it, especially the *Bramins*, bear to the *Europeans* *, to have a perfect Idea of the very honourable Reception which the Father met with on this Occasion. The Father himself was astonished at it, as likewise the whole Court, which was vastly numerous, there being, that Day, upwards of five hundred Persons, the greatest Part of whom were *Bramins*. The Father being thus seated, made his Compliments. He then declared that he was come from the North, and from the mighty City of *Rome*, to instruct the Inhabitants of this Kingdom in the supreme Being, and in his holy Law. That having been for several Years, a Witness of his heroic Actions, and the many Victories he had gained over his Enemies, he therefore was extremely desirous of seeing so great a Prince, and imploring his Protection in Favour of his Ministry. That as one of the principal Articles of the Law inculcated by him, obliged Subjects to pay the strictest Obedience to their Sovereign, and to be inviolably attached to them, he might be assured of his Fidelity, a Duty which he did not fail to recommend earnestly to all his Disciples.

The Prince replied, that the God he worshipped must be very powerful, and deserve the highest Ho-

* In the *thirty-four Conferences between the Danish Missionaries*, &c. p. 276, a *Bramin* gives the following Reason, why the *Indians* bear so great a Hatred to the *Europeans*. “ And “ because you *Europeans* drink strong Liquors, and kill and eat “ your Fellow-creatures, endued with five Senses as well as “ yourselves ; I confess we have an inbred Aversion for you, “ and all that belongs to you”. The *Bramin* had said a little before ; “ Nature has plentifully provided us with other Food, “ so that we have no need of eating our Fellow-creatures ; and “ ’tis written in our Law, that these very Creatures, if devour- “ ed by Man in this World, will be their Tormentors in the “ next, biting and tearing them with their Teeth, or trampling “ them under Foot”.

nours, since it had prompted so worthy a Person to undertake so long a Voyage, solely in the View of making him known to a People, who had never heard of his Name *. That his (the Missionary's) thin pale Cheeks, plainly proved him to lead a very mortified Life; and that the Presents he brought with him plainly shewed, that Necessity had not forced him to quit his native Country. That he had already heard the most advantageous Particulars concerning his Learning and good Sense. That as

* We find, in like Manner, in the *Confereuces of the Danish Missionaries*, pag. 274, & seq. that the *Bramins* were greatly offended at the Freedom which the Missionary took, in refusing their Idolatry, the *Bramin* observing, "that it was a Piece of great Insolence to blaspheme their Gods and Religion; and that such high Crimes were intolerable". However, it appears that the *Malabarian* Prince, before whom they were then disputing, espoused the Missionary and the *Christian* Cause, he addressing himself thus to the Missionary, pag. 275. "Your Design is laudable; for 'tis but reasonable that wise Men should communicate their Wisdom to the Ignorant; and in so doing, they render great Service to their Generation; and therefore wish, that there were more such learned and pious Men in this Country, to teach the People the true way to Happiness". It appears by this Conference, that the Protestant Missionary was treated with great Kindness by the Prince; "I was received (says the former) very civilly; entertained with delicate Fruits, and made to sit down in a Chair after the Manner of Europe, pag. 273". This *Malabarian* Prince seemed more inquisitive than one would have imagined, considering the Ignorance which prevails in these Countries.. "He asked me several Questions (continues the Missionary, pag. 274.) in relation to Europe; and whether his *Danish* Majesty (my gracious Sovereign) was yet living? How numerous was the royal Family? Of the Extent of the *Danish* Dominions? Of the Strong-holds and fortified Places? Of the Maritime and Land-forces? How many Kings there were in Europe? And whether other Nations besides *Danes*, *French*, *English*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*, could come to *India*? Which of these were most powerful? If the Air was so temperate in Europe, that the *Indians* might live therein as the *Europeans* do in *India*? And if all the *Europeans* were *Christians*?" Here we have a *Heathen* Prince, un-improved by Learning, asking more pertinent Questions than some *European* Princes, with all the Advantages of Education, would have done.

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the Multiplicity of his Affairs would not give him Leisure to understand, in the Manner he could wish, the Explication of the Figures drawn so artfully on the Globe he had brought; he therefore had sent for the most famous Astrologer in the Kingdom to discourse with him upon it, in order that he might learn the Uses of this wonderful Machine. That perceiving, among his Presents, some Things which could not fail of pleasing the Queen, he therefore would leave him a Moment, and go and present them to her Majesty with his own Hand. The Prince then rose up, and ordered some of the Courtiers to take the Father into the Garden, and keep him Company till his Return.

The Queen, being delighted with the Novelty of the Presents, received them with great Testimonies of Joy, and commended them highly. Above all she admired the Glass Globe, the Bracelets, and the Cock wrought in Shells, insomuch that she could scarce take her Eyes from them. She therefore desired the Regent to thank the foreign Doctor, in her Name; to pay him every Kind of Honour, and to comply with all his Requests.

As Father *Bouchet* had vanished from Court, as it were, and been led into the Garden, a Report prevailed, in the Palace, and the City, that he was seized and thrown into Prison. This News proved a Subject of Triumph for some little Time, to the Enemies of our holy Religion; and threw the *Christians* into the utmost Consternation, they waiting with great Uneasiness to hear the Success of this Visit. However, their Sorrow was soon changed into Joy: For the Prince, at his Return from the Queen's Apartment, received the Father, in Presence of the whole Court, with the like Honours as are paid to Embassadors, that is, he put upon his Head, in Form of a Veil, a Piece of Gold Brocade, about eight Foot long, and shed over him some sweet-

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smelling

smelling Waters ; after which he declared, that he was expressly ordered by the Queen to grant him every Thing he desired.

Had the Father then thought proper to insinuate a Word or two concerning the Catechist Apostates, who, for so many Months, had occasioned such Disturbances, and given so much Scandal to his Church, the Prince would certainly have punished them severely, and perhaps banished them the Kingdom ; but the Missionary, animated with the Spirit of his Lord and Master, and calling to mind that he was a Father, would not destroy his Children, though they had been so ungrateful and treacherous with regard to Christ and his Church. He therefore contented himself with preventing, by his Visitation, their doing any farther Prejudice to the Church, or from imposing upon the People by Calumnies and horrid Accusations *. For this Reason, after assuring the Prince that he retained the deepest Sense of his Favours, he again begged his Protection for himself and his Disciples, assuring him, that they in return for all his Goodness, would daily implore the Lord of Heaven and Earth, whom they worshipped, to shower down his choicest Blessings upon, and give him the Victory over his Enemies. The Prince promised not to forget him ; when after saluting him in the same manner as at first, he withdrew, commanding his Officers to let the Father be carried through every part of the City, in the finest Court-palankin, to shew the World that he honoured this foreign Doctor, and indulged him his Protection.

The Modesty of Father *Bouchet* was put to a great Trial on this Occasion. He debated within

* Perhaps these Charges brought against the Catechists are true, perhaps not. The only Way to be certain on this Occasion, would be to have heard the other Party, according to the Motto writ (I think) over the Senate-house of *Venice*, *Audi & alteram Partem* ; i. e. Hear both Sides.

himself, whether it was not incumbent on him to refuse the public Honour now offered him; but after pouring forth his Heart before the Lord, he imagin'd it was necessary for his Glory, and the Honour of the *Christian* Religion, that all the Inhabitants of that Capital should plainly see, that the Prince esteem'd the Religion he taught; and that it would find a Protector in him, when wanted. He therefore got into the Palankin; and permitted the *Indians* to carry him through every Part of the City, with Music playing before him *. This Pomp soon drew numberless Multitudes of People into the Streets, through which he passed, they all saluting him in the most respectful manner. The *Christians*, who till now, were afraid that their Religion would be despised and censured by the Prince, crouded after the Missionary with Acclamations, and the highest Demonstrations of Joy; publishing aloud that they

* The famous Traveller, *Pietro della Valle*, inveighs against the Effeminacy of the *Palanquins*, he saying, 'That Men are forbid, in all the Territories of the *Portugueze* in *India*, to go in them; and indeed they are too soft and effeminate a Vehicle. Nevertheless, as the *Portugueze* pay little or no Obedience to their Laws, they, either upon Pretence of Rain, or by Favour, or Presents, have prevail'd so far, that most of them are carried in *Palanquins* all the Year round.' *L'andare in Palanchino, nelle terre di Portoghesi in India, si proibisce à gli huomini, perche in vero è cosa troppo poltronesca: Tuttavia, come i Portoghesi son pochissimo Osservatori di tutte le lor leggi, con occasione delle piogge prima, e per favori, o per presenti, cominciano ad haverne licenza; e poi à poco à poco si slarga, che al fine ci van quasi tutti, e tutto l'Anno. De' Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino, Parte III. pag. 134, 135, in Roma, 1663, 4to.* He had before exclaim'd against this kind of Vehicle, in the preceding Volume, pag. 24. *Questo modo di andare, il più poltronesco che io mai habbia veduto, i. e.* 'This is the most idle, effeminate way of carrying I ever saw in my Life.' What would our renowned Traveller have said, had he seen Father *Bouchet* in his *Palanquin*, and Music playing before him. We are told, indeed, that his Modesty suffer'd greatly. Perhaps it did; but many accuse the Jesuits of being too fond of worldly Honours, on these and other Occasions.

were *Christians*, and Disciples of the foreign Doctor. The Success of this kind of Triumph strengthened the *Neophytes* in their Faith, and prompted a great Number of Idolaters to beg to be baptized. Not satisfied with carrying Father *Bouchet* through the whole City of *Trichirapali*; they likewise convey'd him in this manner, to the Place of his Abode, which is about four Leagues from the Capital. The Moment he arrived there, he assembled the *Christians* in the Church, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, in order that they all might return Thanks to God, for this signal Blessing.

But the Voice of God which so evidently defended the Father against his Slanderers, did not make the least Impression on the Hearts of the Three Apostates. They were again urged to return to their Duty; and to leave off their base Practices, for fear of meeting a most severe Punishment. However, they still continued obstinate; insomuch that the Father was forced to read publicly the Sentence of Excommunication, which one of our Missionaries had before pronounced against them. As this was the first Instance of such a kind of Severity practised in those Countries, the *Christians* were strongly affected with it; when looking upon these three Rebels, as rotten Members, since they were cut off from the Church, they refused to have the least Correspondence with them. But now these unhappy Wretches, who had hitherto continued dead to all Reflection, were strongly affected with this last Circumstance, which, at one and the same Time, made them odious to the *Christians*, and expos'd them to the scoff of the *Heathens*, who pointing at them would cry, "There are the Men who betray'd their Doctors," that is, according to the Idea which these *Indians* have of Treachery, "There are the most wicked Men upon Earth; Men whose

“ whose Souls are of the blackest Dye *”. However, two of them, unable to bear these Taunts any longer, after continuing six Months in a State of Rebellion, came and threw themselves at the Father's Feet, being sincerely grieved at their Apostacy, and the sad Evils they had endeavoured to bring upon this Infant Church. The Father who had long wished for the Return of these stray'd Sheep, receiv'd them in the Fold with Indulgence; and after they had made a public Confession in the Church, and begg'd Pardon for their base Desertion, and their barbarous Calumnies, they received Absolution, and were again admitted into the Number of the Faithful. As for the Third, he persever'd in his Apostacy; and in all Probability will never repent, unless Heaven should please to almost work a Miracle in his Favour.

Though this Affair ended happily, yet the Fatigues Father *Bouchet* had undergone on this Occasion, threw him into a Fit of Sickness, from which he was not well recover'd, when I found him in *Serrbine*. We staid there but one Day, and the next went to *Aoor*, which is but a short Day's Journey from thence. When Father *Bouchet* first came into the Mission of *Madura*, about Twelve Years ago, the Missionaries were under such Fears, that they never entered the Villages except at Night; but, Heavens be praised, Things are much alter'd for the better since that Time. For we not only went into *Aoor* in open Day; but the *Christians* of the neighbouring Towns assembling together, received us with Music, and Acclamations, a Circumstance which drew Tears of Joy from my Eyes. 'Twould be impossible to express the tender Affec-

* The Sincerity of these *Indians* might be very much doubted, considering the Motive of their Return to the Church; nothing being, in general, more intolerable to a Man, than sovereign and universal Contempt. — Many will probably suspect the Truth of several Parts of this Narrative.

tion and Respect which the *Christians* of this little Town bear to Father *Bouchet*, they being all firmly persuaded that he loves them as dearly as if they were his Children. We went directly to the Church, which was then adorn'd as on *Easter Sunday*. There the People offered up Thanks to God, and the blessed Virgin, for the Success of my Journey, with the highest Demonstrations of Affection; all which I ascrib'd to the Esteem Father *Bouchet* has gain'd, not only with Regard to himself, but to all those of our Order.

A few Days after I was visited by such of our Fathers as live near *Aoor*; and those who reside at a greater Distance from it, were so good as to write to me. *Aoor* is certainly the most considerable Mission now in *Madura*, not only on Account of its Neighbourhood to the Capital of the Kingdom, but also because there are Twenty-nine Churches dependant on it, in which are computed upwards of Thirty Thousand *Christians*, converted by the Father Visitor. At his coming thither, there were no other Churches in *Tricherapaly*, except those of the *Parias*, who are the lowest of all the Castes, a Circumstance which gave the *Heathens* a very disadvantageous Idea of our holy Religion; but now there are four Churches for the higher Castes, in four different Parts of this great City. Tho' these several Churches are built only of Earth, and cover'd with Straw, they yet are neat and finely embellish'd, and adorn'd within *. But we earnestly wish to have one Church (at least) of Stone, which

* 'Tis well known that the *Roman-Catholics* are very lavish of Church-Ornaments, their Churches being generally crouded with Altars, Pictures, Statues, &c. Some of the Churches in *Paris* are embellish'd in a noble, grand Taste; but others, particularly in the Provinces, are often crouded in so artless a Manner, and with such wretched Statues, Pictures, &c. that they seem rather a Burlesque upon Religion, than design'd to raise the Majesty of it.

may be equal to, or if possible surpass, the Idol-Temples; but this can never happen except it please God, to prompt some generous Persons in *Europe*, to furnish us with Monies for that Purpose. Such a Building would contribute greatly to the Advancement of our Religion, if we may form a Judgment of this Matter, from the Success we met with in *Aoor* †.

At Father *Bouchet's* Arrival there, it was a poor little Village, in which were but a very few *Christians*. The Father, knowing perfectly well the Genius of this People, who are easily captivated by the Objects of Sense, resolved to build a pretty handsome Church, which might excite the Curiosity of the Infidels. No sooner was the Edifice finished, but People flock'd to see it from all Parts, especially from the Capital, which, as was before observ'd, is but four Leagues off. This gave the Father an Opportunity of speaking concerning God, to a great multitude of People; on which Occasion several turn'd *Christians*, and came and settled in *Aoor*, which thereby is become one of the most considerable Towns in the Kingdom. You possibly may be glad to have a Description of this Church; and to be told that, as every Thing is cheap there, such another might be built at no great Expence.

It stands in the Center of a large Court. The Walls, at certain Distances, are painted; and they are adorn'd, in the Inside, with lofty Columns, which support a Cornice that goes quite round the Edifice. The Pavement is so neat and smooth, that it looks like one entire Piece of white Marble. The Altar is in the middle of the Window, purposely that it may be seen on all Sides, and

† These Ornaments make a strong Impression on the Minds of the common People, even in Countries where Learning flourishes; 'tis therefore no Wonder they should strike very strongly on the Minds of a People who are utter Strangers to Knowledge.

eight large Columns, which support an Imperial Crown, form the whole Ornament of this Altar, every Part of which glitters with Gold and Azure; not to mention that the *Indian* Architecture, being blended with that of *Europe*, has a most pleasing Effect. As this Church is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, the *Christians* come in Pilgrimage to it from all Parts of the Kingdom.

I cannot omit the odd Accident following. When I had been two Days in *Aoor*, after assisting, in the Evening, with Father *Bouchet* at the Prayers and other pious Exercises usually offer'd up in the Church, we entered the Room where two of our Fathers, who were come to pay me a Visit, were saying their Breviary, by the Light of a small Lamp. I then fancied I saw, in the middle of the Room, a kind of Rope, in the Form of a Horse's Halter; whereupon I took it up, in order to carry it to the Lamp, and there examine whether it was good for any Thing. But how great was my Surprize, when I found that my suppos'd Rope was a Serpent, which was raising itself up in order to bite me! In my Fright, I shook it from me, and it was killed that Instant. I wonder I did not perceive the Motion of the Serpent sooner; or that it did not bite me, the Moment I put my Fingers to it. But this would have cost me my Life, the Bite of the Serpents in question being found mortal; though there are excellent Antidotes in this Country, against the Bite of most other Reptiles of that kind *.

Though

* Many Travellers speak of the Serpents found in this Part of the World. According to Father *Pyrard*, the Serpents of *Calicut* are very large and dangerous; and yet the People dare not kill them, they being held in great Veneration by the King and the *Bramins*, who imagine that they are Spirits created, by Heaven, to afflict Mankind, and punish them for their Sins. In the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, for January 1699;

Though we perform our ministerial Functions in so calm and undisturb'd a Manner, we yet have frequent Alarms, and are daily exposed to new Persecutions. Since the little Time that I have liv'd in *Aoor*, we were thrice going to fly, and live in the Woods, whither our most valuable Things, that is the Church Ornaments and our Books, had been carried before.

I had been told, and accordingly expected, before my Arrival in this Place, to find neither Bread, Meat, Eggs, Fish, nor Wine, except what is us'd at Mass; but I will frankly tell you, that Things are much worse than I imagin'd. Nothing is drunk here but Water, which often is very muddy, and never very clear; it being drawn out of Ponds, wherein Men and Cattle wash themselves daily. Our only Food is Herbs, Roots and Pulse, the Taste of which is much more insipid and bitter, than any of those in *Europe*. No Person can eat them with any tolerable Appetite, unless he

we are told of a Serpent of a very singular, and very dangerous kind, found in *Malabar*. 'Tis no thicker than a Man's Finger, and five or six Foot long; and being of a green Colour, 'tis not well distinguished when in the Grass. It does not shun Passengers, but flies upon them, endeavouring commonly to fix itself on the Eyes, Nose or Ears. Its Bite is not venomous; but under its Neck is a Bladder fill'd with subtile Poison, which this Reptile lets out upon the Part where it seizes; and this Poison is mortal. Mr. *Ovington* informs us, that a tame Snake was brought into the Factory at *Surat*, of so vast a Size, that he swallowed one of their biggest Fowls whole, with all its Feathers, in his Presence. The Serpent began with the Head of the Fowl, after which, twining round the Body, he squeez'd it close to make the Passage the easier. The Fowl gave one Shriek upon its being first seiz'd, and then lay dead. 'Twas some Time before the Serpent could get the main Part of the Fowl into his Throat; but after he had got so far, he convey'd it down to the middle of his Belly with ease. This Part of *India* is a fine Country; but the Serpents, Scorpions, and troublesome Insects, with which it abounds, greatly abate the Pleasure which otherwise might be found in it.

has been accustomed to them from his Infancy. I remember on this Occasion, a smart Saying of a Missionary, who was but lately arrived in these Parts. Being ask'd his Opinion concerning the Herbs which were set before him: "I had fancied, says he, till now, that Animals only had Gall; but I find that, in this Country, we taste it even in Herbs and Pulse." We are allowed to use Butter with them, but those who dress our Vic-tuals (which were we to do ourselves, the *Indians* would think we disgrac'd our ministerial Character) cook it up so wretchedly, that 'tis a real Mortification for us to eat any of it. Farther, as the Rice, which serves as Bread, is boiled only in Water, it takes away its Taste. A Missionary imagines at his first coming, that if he does but make a hearty Resolution, he will soon accustom himself to this Food, though so vastly insipid; however, the Stomach loathes it to such a Degree at last, that nothing but mere Necessity could force a *European* to touch any of it. Fruits are so rarely met with here, that we think it a Banquet if we get only a Radish or a little Cucumber in the Afternoon. Father *Bouquet* and I have often had no more in the Evening, (even when it was not a Fast-day) except a Piece of thin Cake, bak'd on the Coals, and half burnt.

Besides the sad Disquietudes of our Minds, on Account of the Persecution which our Brethren frequently suffer, I may add the dreadful Solitude of many of our Missions here, which commonly remove us far from all our Acquaintance; we not having the least Society but with an ignorant, unamiable People; not to mention our being forced to comply with their Forms of Ceremony, which are inexpressibly troublesome and ridiculous in every Respect; our being depriv'd for Years together of all Spiritual Succour, as well as of all Correspondence,
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by Way of Letter, this being rare, and very difficult to be carried on, for fear we should discover ourselves to be *Europeans*, or raise some Suspicion in the Natives, were they to know that we have any Concerns with the *Portugueze*, and other *Europeans* of the Coast; and, by that Means, cause us to be persecuted, as has happen'd more than once.

Chirangam is an Island form'd by the River *Caveri*, opposite to the City of *Tricherapali*, Capital of the Kingdom. 'Tis one of the most famous Places in all *India*. In it stands a Temple surrounded with seven Walls, and 'tis consider'd as the most holy Temple in these Parts, whence 'tis no Wonder that the Inhabitants of this Island, should be the most obstinate and superstitious Idolaters in all the Country. 'Tis but a few Years since the *Christian* Religion began to take Root in this Island, and that Father *Bouchet* built a little Church in it. The *Christians*, who are about fourscore in all, assemble at the Church in question, at the ringing of a small Bell, a Circumstance which very much mortifies the Priests of the neighbouring Temple, who have frequently endeavour'd to burn this little Edifice, but Providence has not yet thought proper to let them put their wicked Design in Execution.

About a Year and half ago, Father *Simon Carvalho*, had the Grief to see a fine Church, built by him a little before, demolish'd. It stood between the City of *Tanjaour*, and a famous Idol-Temple. The Priests who super-intended the latter, were inflam'd with Jealousy whilst it was Building, and therefore resolved to demolish it, for which Purpose they had Recourse to the following Artifice. They spread a Report among the common People, that the Gods of their Temple, were determin'd to have the Church, belonging to the *Bramins* of the North (for so the Jesuits are call'd) destroy'd; otherwise that they would forsake their Abode, and for

the following Reason: “ Because that whenever
 “ they were oblig’d to go through the Air, from
 “ this Temple to the City of *Tanjaour*, they found
 “ the Church belonging to these Foreigners in the
 “ Way; and that as it was impossible for them to
 “ pass over it, they were impell’d by an invifible
 “ Power, to fetch a great Compass about, which
 “ was quite inconvenient, and fatigued them very
 “ much.” Though the Complaint of these imaginary Deities were so very gross, yet it affected the Idolaters; upon which they met together, and resolv’d to pull down the Church in question, they being protected by a Minister of State whom they had brib’d.

Some Time after, Father *Bouchet*, who was in *Tricherapali*, sent to invite me to go and spend some Days with him. A few Years since, ’twas extremely difficult for the Fathers to get into that great City, and they were under perpetual Apprehensions all the Time they continued there; but ever since the Prince has indulg’d Father *Bouchet* his Protection, as was before observ’d, we go thither publicly in the Day-time; ever since which the Guards who are posted at the Gates, so far from molesting us, salute us very respectfully: I proceeded forward towards Father *Bouchet*’s, and by that Means had an Opportunity of seeing a great Part of the City, which appear’d vastly populous, but ill-built, most of the Houses being of Earth, and cover’d with Straw. ’Tis not but there are persons rich enough, to raise strong handsome Houses; but either Covetousness, or the fears they are under of being thought rich, will not permit them to build these in a neater or more commodious manner. I found Father *Bouchet* in perfect Health, and had the Consolation to find a great Number of zealous and fervent *Christians* with him.

At one of the Extremities of *Tricherapali*, stands a Church which Father *Bouchet* built on the Ruins of a Pagod. The Spot on which it is raised, had formerly being given to the chief Missionaries of *Madura*; but a War breaking out, as frequently happens in these Countries, the Fathers were oblig'd to leave the City, and fly and conceal themselves in the Woods. During their Absence, an Idolater seiz'd upon the Ground, and built a small Temple upon it, which he filled with Pagods of all Sizes. 'Tis not many Years since Father *Bouchet* was restored to the Possession of that Spot, on which Occasion he oblig'd the Priest of the Idols to quit it. 'Twas a Spectacle very glorious to our Religion, and the same Time worthy of Compassion, to see the needless Pains, which the poor Idol-Priest in question took, whilst he was removing his Gods. The *Christians* were urgent with him to quit the Place; and, to make the greater Dispatch, they themselves took the Idols, and set them upon the Ground with no great Ceremony. By this Means several were broke, on which Occasion he himself would gather up the scatter'd Fragments; weeping at the same Time bitterly, but not daring to complain, since he only was forc'd out of a Place which did not belong to, and had been usurp'd by him *. The Temple was pull'd down, and on its Ruins a Church was built,

* Some Persons would say, what Business had the Jesuit to leave his Native Country, and sail to another so many thousand Miles distant from it, there to disturb the Natives in their Possessions? 'Tis whimsical enough to hear our Traveller describing the Anxiety of this *Heathen*-Priest, whilst he was carrying away his Idols; and his Vexation at seeing them broke to Pieces; and by whom? By a Set of People who were going to put other Idols in their Place. The Jesuit was no less an idolatrous Priest than the *Heathen*; and therefore his Behaviour on this Occasion was altogether barbarous and *Anti-christian*; so far was this from being a Spectacle so very glorious to the *Christian Religion*, as he is pleas'd to term it.

with

with a little House, which is the Residence of the Missionaries.

I am going to *Pondichery*, whence I hope to have the Honour of writing to you, and am in the mean Time,

Yours, &c.

PETER MARTIN.

Father TACHARD, Superior of the Jesuit-Missions, in India, to Count DE CRECY.

Pondichery, Feb. 4, 1703.

My Lord,

I SHALL here give you an Account of the first Fruits of our Mission in *Carnata*. After the Ruin of that in *Siam*, most of the Fathers retir'd to *Pondichery*, on the Coast of *Cormandel*, whither I went to them, after my third Voyage into *France*. Seeing so great a Number of Idolaters to the West and North of us, we were strongly desirous of converting them. The great Progress which the Portuguese Fathers had made Southward, where they had brought over near two hundred Thousand Souls to *Christianity*, made us suppose that, if the same Methods were employ'd in converting the *Indians* situated to the North of *Pondichery*, we should perhaps obtain the like Blessings. For this Reason we settled first in *Pondichery*; but the *Dutch* having drove us from thence *, almost as soon as we

* The Portuguese were the first Europeans, who made Settlements in the *East-Indies*, and their first was at *Cochin*, on the *Malabar Coast*, in 1502; but the *English* and *Dutch* did not make any Attempts to traffic in *India*, till about the Year 1600. Mr. *Mildenbal* was the first *Englishman*, sent by our *East-India Company* to settle a Trade on the Continent of *India*; he carrying a Letter from Queen *Elizabeth* to the Great *Mogul*, and arriving in *Labor* in 1603. This Gentleman was afterwards introduced to the *Mogul* in *Agra*, and treated with the highest Civilities;

we had begun to officiate in the Church built by us there, all our Designs would have been defeated, had

lities; so that all Things seemed to be in a fair way for the promoting the Affairs of the *English*: Nevertheless the *Portuguese* Jesuits afterwards giving that Monarch a very ill Impression of the *English*, by saying that they were a Nation of Thieves, and that Mr. *Mildenbal* was a Spy, his Business was greatly retarded, especially by their bribing the chief Ministers: Nevertheless, he at last was so successful as to obtain leave for the *English* to trade in the *Mogul's* Dominions; but died in *Persia* upon his Return, not without Suspicion of being poisoned by some Priests. In 1608, Capt. *Hawkins* arrived in *Surat*, being sent by our *East-India* Company, and in Quality of the King of *England's* Ambassador. The Captain landed at *Surat*, and was treated with great Civilities by the Governor, whom he acquainted with his Design of settling a Factory in that Place, and disposing of the Cargo brought in his Ship. The Merchants in *Surat* complained that this was an Incroachment on their Trade, nevertheless Captain *Hawkins* was permitted to ship the Goods, which being done in two Barks, these were taken, together with the *Englishmen* on Board them, by a *Portuguese* Frigate lying in the Road; the Prisoners being sent to *Goa*. Captain *Hawkins* afterwards quarrell'd with the *Portuguese* Officers about this Seizure, but to little Purpose, the chief Officer (for the *Mogul*) of the Customs, conniving with the *Portuguese* against him. Nevertheless he suffer'd him to set out for *Agra*, (the Metropolis of the *Mogul's* Dominions) and he arrived in that City in April 1609. We are told that the *Portuguese* made several Attempts to assassinate him; had prompted some *Rajas*, whose Countries lay between *Surat* and *Agra*, to cut him off; and that even the *Portuguese* Jesuits had bribed his *Indian* Servants to poison him on the Road. (What excellent Missionaries were these Jesuits!) Captain *Hawkins* was very much caressed by the Monarch at first, though his Custom-house Officer in *Surat* had plunder'd him of the rich Presents he intended for the *Great Mogul*; and his (the Captain's) Letter was disadvantageously interpreted by a Jesuit. Our *Englishman* was afterwards in such Favour at Court, that the *Portuguese* being inflam'd with Jealousy, brib'd the chief Ministers to ruin his Design, and at last effected it; the Grant he had obtain'd for a free Trade, being revok'd, and the Captain himself dismiss'd in 1611. The *Portuguese*, to succeed the better in their Artifice, had represented the *English* as a mean, weak, and inconsiderable Nation. Captain *Hawkins* went on board Sir *Henry Middleton*, who was come to *Surat* with three Ships. The *Portuguese* Admiral, who commanded Twenty Frigates which lay there, to prevent his trading on that Coast,

ated

had not you, my Lord, been appointed to conclude a general Peace.

When

treated Sir Henry in a very haughty Manner, pretending to oppose all Ships coming into those Seas, which had not a *Spanish* Pass; but Sir Henry behaving like an *Englishman*, and threatening the *Portuguese*, (who at that Time were under the Government of the *Spaniards*) to employ Force, the *English* were permitted to go a-shore, and Sir Henry disposed of Part of his Effects; however he could not obtain leave to settle at *Surat*. But about this Time another Power started up also to oppose the *English*, and this was the *Dutch*, who now claim'd the Sovereignty of the Seas which surround the Continent of *India*, &c; the *Dutch* who were settled in *Palicate*, on the Coast of *Cormandel*, opposing the *English* who came in 1611, to settle a Factory in that Country, and ordering them to leave it. At last, in 1612, our *East-India* Company sent two Ships to *Surat*, under the Command of Captain *Best*, who settled a Trade, the Articles of which were establish'd by the *Mogul* himself; about the same Time the King of *Bisnagar*, granted the *English* a free Trade upon the Coast of *Cormandel*, they settling a Factory in *Pettipoly*, in 1613, spite of the Opposition of the *Dutch*. In 1614, the *East-India* Company prevail'd upon King *James I.* to let them send a solemn Embassy to the *Mogul*, in his Majesty's Name. Sir *Thomas Roe* landed at *Surat* in Sept. 1615, but did not meet with very good Treatment, owing, as is supposed, to his not being fitted out in a Manner suitable to his Character, a circumstance necessary in all Countries, especially in *India*, whose Princes commonly form an Idea of the Greatness of a Monarch from the Figure his People makes and the Nature of the Presents sent. Notwithstanding this ungracious Treatment, Sir *Thomas* set out towards the *Mogul's* Court, but was not very well used on the Road. At *Brampour*, where he was very ill accommodated, and for that Reason lodg'd under his Tent, he had Audience of Sultan *Pervis*, the *Mogul's* second Son, who gave him a tolerable Reception, though Sir *Thomas* had refused to make the Obediences requir'd of him. Being afterwards arriv'd at the *Mogul's* Court, our Ambassador was permitted to salute the Monarch according to the *European* Fashion. The *Mogul* was seated, after the manner of his Country, in a pretty high Gallery, and the Ambassadors, great Men, &c. beneath him; so that the whole rose gradually, in Form of an Amphitheatre. Sir *Thomas* was graciously receiv'd by the Monarch, who admir'd very much his Commission, and the Presents sent him; the Ambassador having been sick, the *Mogul* offer'd him his Physicians. In his second Audience, the *Mogul* enquir'd the Motive of his coming: Sir *Thomas* complain'd that the *English* were

When I arrived at *Pondichery* in my fifth Voyage, I found Father *Mauduit* there, who had established a new Mission in that Country. I prevail'd with Father *Bouchet* to come into our new Mission of *Carnata*, he bringing with him another French Missionary, Father *de la Fontaine*; so that in 1702, there were three Missionaries in the Kingdom of *Carnata*. Father *Bouchet* was appointed Superior of the new Mission; and he sent Father *de la Fontaine* to *Ponganoor*, whose Inhabitants speak the *Talang* Language, which differs as much from that of *Malabar*, as the *Spanish* from the *French*.

The Missionaries who were settled in *Caroovepon-di*, had resolv'd, at their Entrance into that Mission, to assume the Habit, and lead the Life of the *Sanias Bramins*, or religious Penitents. This was putting themselves under very difficult Engagement; for nothing but apostolical Zeal and Charity, can enable a Man to submit to its Rigours and Austerities. A *Sanias Bramin*, besides his Abstinence from all Things that have had Life, as Flesh, Fish, &c. must comply with several very troublesome Customs: He must wash every Morning during all Seasons of the Year, in a public Pond; and repeat this before he eats, which he is allow'd to do but once a Day. He must procure a *Bramin* for his Cook; for he would become odious and unworthy of his Func-

were ill treated by his Subjects, who not only plunder'd them of their Goods, but sometimes imprison'd their Persons, whereupon the Monarch gave Order for their Release. Nevertheless, he could not be prevailed upon to conclude a formal Treaty of Peace and Alliance with the King of *England*, which was suppos'd to be owing to the want of proper Presents, and the Bribery of the *Portuguese*. Sir *Thomas Roe* seem'd every way qualified for the important Business he was come upon, and behav'd with such a Spirit of Bravery, as put the *Mogul* himself, and his Ministry in the greatest Consternation, upon his complaining to him of the ill Treatment he met with. For farther Particulars, see, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, printed for J. Churchill, &c. Vol. I. p. 767. London, 1704. Fol.

tion, should he eat of any Food dressed by Persons of an inferior Caste. Hence therefore Missionaries are oblig'd to lead a Life of the deepest Solitude; a *Sanias* not being allowed to go from his Hermitage, except for the Service of his Disciples or others. I omit many equally grievous Restrictions, which a *Sanias*-Missionary must observe inviolably, if he would reap any Advantage from his Labours, for the Salvation of the poor *Indians*.

Tarcolan was a considerable City, whilst the Kings of *Golconda* were Masters of it, which they were Thirty Years ago; but it is greatly decay'd, both with Regard to Wealth, and the Number of the Inhabitants, ever since the *Moors* seized upon it, when they conquer'd *Golconda*. The *Heathens* have a fabulous Tradition, that it was anciently so very beautiful and magnificent, that the Gods of the Country, when they descended upon Earth, used to hold their general Assemblies there.

The *Moors* after their Conquest of it, finding that most of the Inhabitants, dreading the Avarice and Cruelty of their Conquerors, were fled away; inclosed it round, after having demolished almost all the magnificent Pagods which the *Heathens* had built there, the principal One excepted, which they turned into a Fortress, and keep a small Garrison in it. The *Great Mogul* has subdued so many Territories, and taken so great a Number of Cities, that he has not Subjects enough of his own Religion, the *Mohammedan*, to settle in them; for which Reason he has been oblig'd to intrust most of the Cities of less Importance to *Heathens*, and these are very faithful to him*.

The

* *Golconda* is a Kingdom or Province about an hundred Le gues long, and from fifty to about sixty-six broad. The principal Inland Towns are *Bagnagar*, *Golconda*, *Tenari*, and *Gani* or *Coloor*; and the chief maritime Towns *Masulapatan*, where

The great *Mogul*, to reward the Services of his *Omrabs*, or great Men of the Empire, bestows on them a kind of Sovereignty during Life, over particular Provinces, upon Condition that they maintain a certain Number of Cavalry in his Army, whenever he has Occasion for them. How powerful soever these Governors may be, there yet are Inspectors over them called *Divans*, whose Employments are like those of the Intendants in the Provinces of *France*. The Business of these *Divans*, who are indepen-

where both the *English* and *Dutch* have a Factory; *Madepollom*, where the *English* have a small Factory; *Nassipore*, where the *Dutch* have one; *Vizacapatan*, where the *English* have one; and *Bimlepatan*, where the *Dutch* have a Factory. *Bagnagar*, the Metropolis of *Golconda*, was one of the finest and largest Cities in *India*, when *Golconda* was subject to its own Prince. The King's Palace here was very large and magnificent, and built of Stone. There were many noble Squares, and large Tanks or Reservoirs of Water in it. The *Golcondans*, tho' they laid out great Sums in making their Tanks, yet their Houses (those of the *Omrabs* excepted) are mostly of Thatch and Clay, and not above nine or ten Foot high. These Houses serve for little else but to sleep in, no Business being transacted within Doors. *Golconda* was a fine strong Town, but exposed to Inundations from the Neighbouring River and Mountain. The King had also a Palace in *Tenara*. The Kingdom of *Golconda* abounds in Corn, Rice and Cattle, Salt, Iron and Steel. The Diamond Mines of *Gani* or *Coloor*, where the greatest Number and largest Diamonds in the World are found, are particularly famous. 'Tis reported that another Mine was discovered, in a Mountain two Leagues from the City of *Golconda*; but that the then King of the Country would not permit it to be work'd, for fear of depreciating the Value of Diamonds, or inviting the *Mogul* to seize upon that Mine. However, *Aurengzebe* hearing of the immense Treasures they produced, was tempted to make himself Master of them, and, for that Purpose, quarrelled with the King of *Golconda*, upon Pretence that his Subjects were Hereticks, of the Sect of *Hali*. He then declared War against him, and, in 1686, took the King of *Golconda* Prisoner, and made his Dominions a Province of the *Mogul's* Empire. The Inhabitants trade much to *Arabia*, and all Parts of *India*. Most of the *Omrabs* are *Persians*. The Kingdoms of *Golconda* and *Visapoor* have Mines sufficient to furnish the whole World with Diamonds. Can we wonder then that the Jesuits should be so fond of the Missions in these Parts?

484. TRAVELS of the JESUITS.

dant on the Governors or *Omrabs*, is, to levy the Emperor's Tributes, and check the Injustice which these petty Sovereigns usually exercise over the People. The Governor-general of *Cangibooran*, on which the City of *Tarcolan* depends, is called *Dasorkan*. He is a Person who raised himself merely by his Merit, and has done important Services to the State, whence the great *Mogul* was induced to bestow *Tarcolan* upon him, in the Manner described above. *Dasorkan* has appointed five particular Governors, called *Cramani*, over this great City; and the Chief of these *Cramani*, who possess a *Topo*, or Wood of high Trees, near *Tarcolan*, gave it to Father *Bouchet*, who there built a small Church and House, in which he has resided ever since his being settled in the Kingdom of *Carnata*.

Soon after this antient Missionary was settled in the *Topo*, a Report prevailed in the City and the Neighbourhood of it, that a famous Penitent was settled near *Tarcolan*. The *Cramani*, his Benefactor, was the first who visited him in his little Hermitage. Father *Bouchet*, being perfectly well acquainted with the Language and Customs of the Country, received him with so much Affability and Kindness, that the *Cramani* was charmed not only with the mortified Life of the *Sanias Bramin*, and his Refusal to accept of Presents from any Person whatsoever; but likewise with his polite Behaviour, and the Sanctity of his Discourse. Those who know how curious the *Indians* are naturally, will easily believe what the Missionary writes to me, concerning the Numbers of People who flock continually to his Hermitage. He assures me, that he has scarce Time to say his Breviary, to offer up his Prayers, or eat his daily slender Repast. These frequent Visits were often interrupted by the Jealousy

lously of the *Bramins* and the *Joguis* *, who caused their Emissaries to spread a Report, that the *Sanias* of the *Topo* was of the abominable Caste of the *Pranguis* who inhabit the Coasts of *India*; that he drank Wine in secret, eat Meat with his Disciples, and committed Crimes of every Kind. These Calumnies, joined to the Colour of the *Sanias*, which made the *Indians* very justly suspect his being an *European*, prevented many of them from coming in order to be instructed by him; but the *Cramani*, his Benefactor, having himself been an Eye-witness, during four or five Months, to the penitent Life he led, and the Strictness with which he observed the most severe Practices of his Profession, at last turn'd *Christian*.

But these Reports, so disadvantageous to our Religion, were soon suppressed entirely, upon the *Roman Sanias's* receiving two or three Visits of Importance in his Solitude. The first, which contributed greatly to destroy the Calumny of the *Bramins*, was that of a famous *Bramin*, Intendant of *Daoorkan*. There are various Degrees of Nobility among the *Bramins*, as in *Europe* among the Gen-

* These are *Indian* Penitents or Asceticks. They lead a Life of Celibacy, disclaim all Property, subsist on Alms, and practice great Austerities. They travel over all *India* in the Habit of Pilgrims, and preach as they go along, being sent forth by a *Joguis* their Chief. When they have led a Life of Continence during a certain Time, they consider themselves as unable to commit Sin; imagine that nothing is forbidden, and thereupon immerse themselves in the most horrid Debaucheries. 'Tis related that their Chief or General is changed annually, in their public Assembly. When they travel, they go almost naked. They pretend to pass several Days and Nights together without eating or drinking. They are thought to be of the Sect of the antient *Gymnosophists*. They are a Kind of Penitents, whose chief Employment is to go in Pilgrimage, to such Places as are had in the highest Veneration by the common People among the *Indians*.... Possibly some of the Features above may be aggravated, as they are drawn by the Jesuits, who frequently endeavour to paint such *Heathens* in the blackest Colours.

tllemen *. This Intendant-general was a *Tatooradi*, that is, a Man of the highest Nobility or first Rank. He paid great Civilities to the Missionary; and after a long Discourse, acknowledged that there is but one Sovereign Being who merits our Adoration. The second Visit was of still greater Advantage to our holy Religion. *Daoorkan*, Governor-general of the Kingdom of *Carnata*, as was observed before, has adopted a *Rajapute* named *Sek*, and appointed him his Lieutenant-general. The latter having been ordered by his adopted Father to go to *Velloor*, the last Strong-hold of the *Marasts*, which had been besieged several Months by the *Moors*, and was upon the Point of surrendring (as it did two Months after) went to *Tarcolan*, and visited the holy Penitent. As the Visits of the great Men of this Empire are never performed but with the utmost Pomp and Ceremony, *Sek* came to the Hermitage, with a very considerable Body of Horse and Foot, Drums and Kettle-Drums sounding all the Way. The Nobleman behaved with the utmost Respect towards the *Sanias*; offered him Lands, and assured him of his Protection; and then, after recommending himself to the Father's Prayers, he got on Horseback and continued his Journey.

Ever since that Time, the *Heathens* have discontinued to accuse the Father of being an *European*; and discovered the highest Esteem for his Person, after they saw the great Honours which their Conquerors bestowed on him. The particular Governor of *Tarcolan* came afterwards; and all the Inhabitants of the City followed his Example, so that

* This is meant particularly of those of *France*, a Gentleman being there defin'd, a Man of noble Extraction, who does not owe his Nobility either to his Post, or to Letters Patents granted him by the King. In *England*, the Word Gentleman gives often a vague Idea; and therefore it were to be wished, that some judicious Pen would fix the Standard of it.

the Law of God appears no longer there with Ignominy.

Father *Mauduit* applies himself to the *Grandan*, which is the learned Language of the Country. A Jesuit, to make his Ministry still more useful to the *Indians*, must understand their Books writ in that Language; and appear learned in the Sciences professed by their Doctors. The *Bramins*, who set themselves up as the only learned Men in this Country, won't permit such Authors as treat of them to be translated; and are prodigiously jealous of them, from a Persuasion that Learning is the true Characteristic of Nobility.

Father *de la Fontaine* was extremely fortunate in the very Opening of his Mission, he having gained the Protection of the Prince of *Ponganoor*, where he is settled, and of the Princess his Grandmother, who governs the Kingdom during his Minority. That Father has already baptized a great many *Bramins*.

I am, with all imaginable Respect,

My Lord, &c.

GUY TACHARD.

The End of Vol. I.

ERRATA in the FIRST VOLUME.

Page 2. Line 16. *for Mahommed read Mohammed, and in every other Place where this Error is committed.* p. 13 l. 1. *f.* great Averſion, *r.* a great Averſion. Ibid. (Notes) l. 3. *f.* Mirkand, *r.* Mirkond. p. 37. l. 21. *f.* Here Walks are ſeen open, *r.* Here open Walks are ſeen. p. 115. *laſt Line of the Notes.* *f.* too partial with regard to the *Dutch.* *r.* too partial againſt the *Dutch.* p. 181. l. 5. (Notes) *f.* Bredevent, *r.* Brevedent. p. 182. l. 23. *f.* Ethiopa, *r.* Ethiopia. p. 209. l. 6. *f.* Barangea, *r.* Barangoa. p. 224. l. 25. *f.* Nerofea, and the other on the of the Kingdom, *r.* Nerea, and the other on thoſe of the Kingdom. p. 244. l. 12. (Notes) *f.* thinks, *r.* think. p. 264. l. (Notes) *f.* Phyſicians, *r.* Phyſician's. p. 266. l. 6. *f.* Meſſoua, *r.* Meſſua. p. 272. l. 3. and 4. (Notes) *dele* profeſs'd. p. 284. l. 36. *f.* to *John*, *r.* *John* to. p. 292. l. 31. *dele* former. p. 294. 35. *f.* Text, *r.* Tent. p. 343. l. 37. *f.* curioſoque, *r.* curioſoſque. p. 378. l. 18. (Notes) *f.* Zeigenblag, *r.* Zeigenbalg. p. 379. l. 4. *f.* off, *r.* to. p. 447. *dele* the laſt Line of the Notes. p. 464. l. 13. (Notes) *f.* wiſh, *r.* I wiſh.

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